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TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE JOURNAL OF COLUMBUS'S FIRST VOYAGE¹

1. THE MANUSCRIPT

To this day there has been no critical examination of the Spanish texts and the English translations of the Abstract by Bartolomé de Las Casas of the Journal of the First Voyage of Christopher Columbus. In my efforts to lay down the Admiral's course and to identify the places that he discovered, I found so many errors in the standard English translation by Sir Clements Markham that I tried Cecil Jane's, only to find it almost equally unreliable, and consequently turned to the standard Spanish text edited by Martín Fernández de Navarrete. That, too, proving suspect at various points, I had recourse to the much more accurate text edited by Cesare de Lollis and printed in the *Raccolta Columbiana* of 1892. This led to a general examination of all English and French translations; and the results are presented herewith.

Columbus is known by several contemporary references² to have kept a Journal of his First Voyage, partly as a day-by-day record of events, and partly to show to Ferdinand and Isabella as evidence of what he had discovered. It was used by his son Ferdinand in the life of his father that first appeared in an Italian translation by Alfonso Ulloa at Venice

¹ In the analysis of the different translations, I have received much aid and assistance from Mr. Robert Jackson Cram, Jr., graduate student in Harvard University.

² These are reprinted in De Lollis's introduction to *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi pubblicati dalla R. Commissione Colombiana* (Rome, 1892), Pte. I, Vol. I, pp. v-vi. This volume is hereinafter simply referred to as *Raccolta*.

in 1571;³ and by Bartolomé de Las Casas, in his famous *Historia de las Indias*, which remained in manuscript until 1875.⁴ But no other of the early historians of the Indies seems to have had access to it.

Martín Fernández de Navarrete (1765-1844) retired from active service in the Spanish navy in 1789, and received a commission from D. Carlos IV to collect documents bearing upon the history of Spanish navigation and discovery, with the idea of creating a marine library and museum at Cadiz.⁵ Shortly after 1790 he discovered in the library of the Duque del Infantado a manuscript of 76 folios, in the hand of Las Casas, which proved to be an Abstract of the Journal of Columbus's First Voyage.⁶ This is the nearest thing to an original Journal that we have.⁷

There is some reason to believe, however, that the original

³ *Historie . . . della vita, et de' fatti dell' Ammiraglio D. Christoforo Colombo*. A new edition was published in London in 1867. The best edition, edited by Rinaldo Caddeo, was published at Milan in two volumes in 1930, in the series *Viaggi e Scoperte di Navigatori ed Esploratori Italiani*. This work is hereinafter referred to as the *Historie*.

⁴ *Historia de las Indias*, 5 vols., Madrid, 1875. A new edition in 3 volumes by Don Gonzalo de Reparaz, n.d. on title-page, but with the preface dated April 27, 1927, has appeared at Madrid with a variety of imprints, the publisher's name being simply stamped in. It is a mere reprint of the 1875 edition, with different pagination. In the meantime another and earlier holograph ms. of the work has turned up and is much in need of an editor and translator. This work is hereinafter referred to as the *Historia*.

⁵ Navarrete, *Colección*, I, p. lix.

⁶ The manuscript was in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid when De Lollis made his text for the *Raccolta*, but was reported in 1925 to have been "missing" for some years (see reference at end of note). The writer has had the benefit of photographs of four pages only, made before the war for the late Lieut-Col. John Bigelow, USA; and two pages are reproduced in facsimile in Carbia, *La Nueva Historia del Descubrimiento de América* (Buenos Aires, 1936), p. 56. There is no doubt that these are in Las Casas's handwriting. Navarrete, I, 166, mentions another old manuscript copy later than Las Casas's which he and Muñoz used for collation. Miss Alice Gould lists and describes several old copies of the Abstract in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, LXXXVI (1925), 492-94. There are three manuscript copies, one of the sixteenth century, in the Sloane MSS. at the British Museum.

⁷ It is strange that, in view of the enormous sum expended by American libraries and other learned institutions for photographs and other copies of documents bearing on American history, there is not in this country, so far as we can learn, a single photographic copy or even transcript of Las Casas's Abstract.

Journal was still in existence at the end of the last century; it may even be in existence today. About the year 1894 a woman, recognized as the widow of a late librarian to the Duque de Ossuna, brought to the then Duquesa de Berwick y de Alba⁸ a parchment cover bearing the well-known though cryptic signature of Columbus, and the date 1492, with a few leaves enclosed, and stubs of others that had been torn out. On one leaf were six lines in the handwriting of Columbus complaining of certain *disfamadores de my honrra*; and on the reverse of it and the recto of another leaf, was a tracing of the north coast of Hispaniola from Cape St. Nicolas to Cape Isabella, with six place-names in the Admiral's hand. The Duchess purchased the document, and after examination concluded that it was the cover of the original Journal. But the woman who sold it to her could not again be located. It seems probable that her husband had stolen it from the Duque de Ossuna's library, and that she, being ignorant and illiterate, tore out the part including the map to sell as a "picture," and destroyed the rest. Or perhaps it may yet turn up.⁹

Be that as it may, we have no older MS. or better text today than the well-known Abstract of the Journal beginning *Este es el primer viage*, in the hand of Las Casas. The original title was probably something like *El Libro de la Primera Navegación y Descubrimiento d'estas Yndias*, for Las Casas uses that title or a part of it twice when quoting the exact "words" of the Admiral.¹⁰

Las Casas did not have the original holograph Journal of the Admiral in his hands when he made the Abstract, but only a copy of it. This is proved by his complaints of the scribe,¹¹

⁸ Mother of the present Duke (the Spanish Ambassador at London) and editor of the *Autógrafos* (1892) and *Nuevos Autógrafos de Cristóbal Colón* (1902).

⁹ Reproduction of cover and map and description will be found in the Duchess's *Nuevos Autógrafos* (1902), pp. 1-6. The circumstances of the sale were told to me by Miss Alice Gould. (Cf. her article in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, LXXXVIII, 1926, 762n.) I do not myself believe that this was the cover of the original Journal, but rather of a notebook that the Admiral kept.

¹⁰ *Journal*, October 11 [12]; *Raccolta*, p. 16, l. 20. It is referred to as *El libro de la navegación* in Las Casas's *Historia de las Indias*, lib. i, ch. 67 (1927 ed., I, 305).

¹¹ The above reference to the *Historia*, and *Journal* for October 30, when Las Casas complains of the text.

as well as from internal evidence of the document itself. The manuscript that Las Casas used was evidently copied from the original Journal by some not very literate or intelligent scribe. Any close student of it will find many obvious copyist's errors of the type common in medieval manuscripts. Most frequent are the confusion of *leguas* (leagues) with *millas* (Roman miles)¹² and of *oueste* (west) and its compounds with *leste* (east) and its compounds. There are also several lacunae, probably representing words that the scribe could not make out, and intended to fill in later. It would have been natural for Columbus to have had several copies made of his original Journal, to present to Ferdinand and Isabella and to high officials of the court. One of these was evidently the copy from which Las Casas made his Abstract. Either the same copy or another was in the hands of Ferdinand Columbus when he wrote his *Historie della Vita*, and of Las Casas himself when he wrote his *Historia de las Indias*.

The Abstract of the Journal made by Las Casas has been vigorously attacked by Henry Vignaud¹³ (whom various secondary writers of the "debunker" school have credulously followed), as a garbled document, systematically falsified. It was necessary for Vignaud to do this, since the Las Casas Abstract, as it stands, is a sufficient refutation of Vignaud's theory that Columbus was seeking for new lands, and not for the "Indies," or the Far East. He asserts that Las Casas, possibly with the collaboration of Ferdinand or of the Admiral himself, deliberately fixed up the Journal in order to support the thesis that Columbus had been looking for the Indies all along.

Professor Carbia of the University of Buenos Aires has reached conclusions similar to Vignaud's, and expressed them

¹² There are several of these cases in the *Journal* covering Hispaniola, as one can tell by following the Admiral's course (see S. E. Morison, "The Route of Columbus along the North Coast of Haiti, and the site of Navidad," not yet printed). Another obvious instance is in the *Journal* for January 22 (*Raccolta*, p. 102, l. 9), *seis leguas per ora* must be a mistake for *seis millas*; for a speed of 18 knots was never attained by any sailing ship until the clipper era. De Lollis does not notice the discrepancy, but Navarrete does; yet Jane translates it "six leagues an hour" without comment.

¹³ Henry Vignaud, *Histoire critique de la grande entreprise de Christophe Colomb* (2 vols., Paris, 1911).

with more passion though less prolixity.¹⁴ His emphasis is on the *fraudes*, *superchería*, the *fantasia*, and the *adulteraciones* of Las Casas, whilst Vignaud's is on the incompetence of Columbus and his manifest intentions to discover nothing more than Atlantic islands. Both works are highly charged with emotion, and both are excellent examples of ingenious dialectic. Neither author makes a thorough analysis of the Abstract Journal, but picks out isolated phrases and words to sustain his thesis.

Into this question I cannot go further here than to express my firm conviction that the Las Casas Abstract was well and honestly made, and that the Vignaud and Carbia theses must find their support elsewhere, if anywhere. A number of passages that are given in the third person and indirect discourse in the Abstract are given in direct discourse as quotations in the *Historia* and the *Historie*.¹⁵ They all show that the abstract was correctly made, and that in transposing from the first to the third person Las Casas omitted nothing essential. Far from editing the Journal in order to present Columbus as a peerless discoverer, Las Casas preserved countless passages that reflect on his hero's credulity,¹⁶ character,¹⁷ and skill as a navigator.¹⁸ The evidence of his seeking the Indies is found in many places, and is in the background of many days' entries. By sundry indirect references (as to the rhu-barb on December 30, and the Isle of Women on January 13 and 15), it is clear that Columbus sailed with the Book of Ser Marco Polo in his head, if not in his hand; and that his daily and constant hope was to find some positive evidence that

¹⁴ Rómulo D. Carbia, *La Nueva Historia del Descubrimiento de América* (Buenos Aires, 1936). On pp. 80n and 103n of this work will be found a bibliography of Carbia's other writings on the subject. For a refutation of Carbia see Emiliano Jos, "El Congreso Internacional de Americanistas de Sevilla y la historia del descubrimiento," *Tierra Firme*, Año II (1936), Núm. 1, pp. 47-71.

¹⁵ These are all duly noted in the footnotes to De Lollis's text in the *Raccolta*, I. i.

¹⁶ The several false landfalls on the outward passage.

¹⁷ The carrying off of women from Cuba, upon which Las Casas reflects very severely.

¹⁸ The bad calculations of latitude on October 30, November 2 and 21, and December 13; and on December 7 either he or the Admiral himself corrects an extravagant estimate of 48 Roman miles between two points thus: *verdad es que las veynte fueron*, "truth is that 20 were made" (*Raccolta*, p. 58, l. 16).

would prove his discoveries to be *Cipangu* or *Cataia*. Las Casas does interpolate his own remarks; but, as in the reference to Florida, which was not discovered until 1519, this is done honestly with no intent to deceive. I am satisfied that the Abstract is exactly what it purports to be, an honest précis in the third person, with long quotations in the first person, from a copy of the original Journal, nothing essential except details of navigation left out.

The original *Libro de la Primera Navegación* was something more than a simple seaman's journal or log. Columbus's extensive remarks on the people seen and the places visited, and on fauna and flora and other natural features, together with pious reflections, suggestions of a future colonial policy, remarks on the shortcomings of some of his companions, and reminders of his own great services to the Crown, were obviously intended to impress the Sovereigns of Castile and Aragon and their high officials, and to stimulate them to provide a more worthy expedition than that of 1492. These remarks make the document one of primary importance for students of American discovery and geography, of the Indians, of American fauna and flora, of the first impact of Europeans with a land and peoples unknown to the Ancients, of Columbus's own character and personality, and of the history of navigation. Strange it is that a document of such transcendent importance has never been accurately translated, and that only one really scholarly and accurate text of the original has been printed.

2. PRINTED TEXTS

Navarrete lost no time in communicating his discovery of the Abstract Journal to his friend, D. Juan Bautista Muñoz, who used it in completing his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, the first (and last) volume of which appeared in 1793. In the meantime, Navarrete's researches had been interrupted by the war with France, in which he served almost continuously in various naval and diplomatic capacities.¹⁹ The restoration of D. Fernando VII allowed him to resume his historical and

¹⁹ There is a good sketch of Navarrete by Ferdinand Denis in *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, XXXVII (1863).

scientific interests once more. The fruits of these were many and rich, for Navarrete was an exceptionally industrious as well as gifted scholar; but the one that concerns us is the famous *Colección de los Viages y Descubrimientos, que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV, . . . coordinada é ilustrada por Don Martín Fernández de Navarrete, de la Orden de San Juan* (etc., etc.), Tomo I. Viages de Colon: Almirantazgo de Castilla. Madrid, en la Imprenta Real, 1825.²⁰ There, this Abstract Journal of the First Voyage, with no other title than the first words of the MS. *Este es el primer viage*, occupies pp. 1-166.

Navarrete's 1825 text is carefully and faithfully made in accordance with the editorial standards of a century ago. He expanded abbreviations and spelled out Arabic numerals, supplied punctuation, standardized proper names and modernized spelling. At times he undertook to correct the text; for instance, in the Journal for December 7, describing the circuit of Cape St. Nicolas Môle, the *Raccolta* text (p. 58, l. 23) says *el cerco .34. millas*; Navarrete, who remembered that cape, properly corrected it to *tres ó cuarto millas*. Positive errors are few, so far as we can ascertain without a rigorous collation; those that I have noticed are mostly the pardonable ones of confusing *leste* and *ueste*. One of these, however, was rather serious. The important passage on compass variation in the Journal for September 13 reads in the *Raccolta* text (I, 6):

*las agujas noruesteaban, y á la mañana nordesteaban
algún tanto.*

²⁰ Hereinafter referred to as "Navarrete." Vol. II came out the same year, Vol. III in 1829, Vols. IV and V in 1837. Justin Winsor in his *Narrative and Critical History of America* (1886), II, p. v, n. 2, already reported the set difficult to come by, although the price when found was not more than £3; the only set I have been able to find, in two years' search, was a sumptuously bound one for some £20. A second edition, perhaps not of the entire set, came out in 1858; this is even scarcer than the first. A recent inquiry at the "old Americana" department of a leading second-hand bookstore in a former centre of American culture for works by Navarrete, Von Humboldt, Harris and other giants of the past, was met by an incredulous stare and advice to "try the furrin' langwiche department." Navarrete is, however, generally found in the larger libraries, and students are advised not to be put off by some of the catalogues, since bibliographical pedantry requires the author known all his life and everywhere as Navarrete to be catalogued as Fernández de Navarrete.

Navarrete (I, 8) substitutes a second *noruesteaban* (northwested) for *nordesteaban* (northeast); and as all the English translators followed Navarrete rather than the *Raccolta*, writers on compass deviation, for whom this passage is an important source, have been thrown completely off.²¹

In the Journal for September 9, Navarrete makes two mistakes. The *Raccolta* text (p. 5) has *Anduvo aquel dia .15. leguas*. Navarrete (p. 7) has *Anduvo aquel dia diez y nueve leguas*. All the translators except Cecil Jane have followed Navarrete. The same day's log ends with the famous passage about the Admiral scolding the helmsmen for their bad steering. The *Raccolta* text prints it thus: *los marineros gobernaban mal, decayendo sobre la quarta del norueste, y aun á la media partida; sobre lo qual les riñó el almyrante muchas veces*. Navarrete substitutes *nordeste* (NE) for *norueste* (NW). Now, even the worst helmsman could not let a vessel come up to NE when the course was W. Yet all the translators, including Cecil Jane, have followed Navarrete.²²

²¹ Curiously enough, Ferdinand's translator made the same mistake in the *Historie*, ch. 17; his latest editor, Rinaldo Caddeo, calls attention to it (1930 ed., I, 136), but confuses E and W in his diagram on p. 135.

²² I cannot resist this opportunity to take a preliminary crack at the translators. The correct (or a correct) translation of this sentence in the Journal for September 9 is, "The seamen steered badly, letting her fall off to the W by N, and even to WNW, for which the Admiral scolded them many times." (I had almost said "bawled them out.") This is clear from a study of Columbus's manner of citing compass points; *quarta del norueste* (lit., "point taken from the NW") means W by N; and *las medias partidas* on the old Spanish compass are NNE, ENE, ESE, SSE, SSW, WSW, WNW, and NNW; obviously the next to the last is meant here. As the fleet had entered the NE trades the day before, no helmsman, however incompetent, could have let a square-rigged ship come up to NE, and we should know that Navarrete's *nordeste* was a mistake for *norueste* even if the *Raccolta* did not tell us so. But what do the translators do with this passage? Kettell (1827): "The sailors steered badly, causing the vessels to fall to leeward toward the Northeast, for which the Admiral reprimanded them repeatedly." And NE was to windward! Markham (1893) and Markham-Bourne (1906): "The sailors steered badly, letting the ship fall off to N.E., and even more, respecting which the Admiral complained many times." A difficult clause omitted, and the last softened. Thacher (1903): "The sailors steered badly, falling off to the north-east quarter and even half of the quarter about which the Admiral many times reprimanded them." Jane (1930): "The sailors steered badly, letting her fall away to the north-east and even to half a point [!]; con-

Navarrete was well qualified by his naval career in the days of sail to edit and annotate the Journal. He and his readers were nearer in thought, feeling, and experience to the seamen of Columbus's day than we are to them, or indeed to any of the "iron men in wooden ships" who are now all but extinct. Navarrete, for instance, knew the difference between laying to and sailing off-and-on; his English readers saw in the phrase *andar á la bolina* the equivalent of their "sailing on a bowline," or what modern yachtmen call close-hauled. But Navarrete was not well equipped to identify the points where Columbus touched the shore. His naval experience in West Indian waters had been very brief, during the War of the American Revolution, when he was not interested in Columbus. Consequently he had little advantage over the average scholar when it came to checking up on Columbus's progress from point to point. Although his friend Muñoz with uncanny insight had already selected Watlings Island (San Salvador) as the first landfall, of which everyone is convinced today, Navarrete (I, 20) insisted that it was the Grand Turk of the Turks Islands group, and that Columbus missed the Bahamas (except Great Inagua) altogether. That, naturally, put him wrong on the Cuban landfall as well; and thereafter, Navarrete's identifications are good only for places that are unmistakable, like Nuevitas, Baracoa, St. Nicolas, Acul, and Samaná. Most of those between are wrong.²³

Navarrete's footnotes, therefore, are untrustworthy; but his text may in general be used with confidence by those who are content to have the words of the Journal, and not the exact spelling. The modernization of the spelling makes it far easier to use than the *Raccolta* for those who, like ourselves, must have frequent recourse to a dictionary; and the format of the book lends itself to field work.

cerning this the admiral many times rebuked them." None of these translations make sense.

²³ This is rather a sore subject with me, because most of the English translators and secondary works follow Navarrete in this respect slavishly, whereby I was seriously misled when checking up in the West Indies. Cf. S. E. Morison, *Second Voyage of Christopher Columbus* (Oxford, 1939), esp. pp. 3, 81-82. Navarrete is worse on the Second than on the First Voyage, as he was completely unfamiliar with the Lesser Antilles.

após de manusearem en fues pporrio lagares
dechoy fubdiente 7 mas componer un libro
7 poner todo por escríptura por pintura por
latitud de equinocial 7 longitud del orien-
te 7 fubretado muelle muelle. Yo el vñdo
el fucio 7 tierra muelle el madozar por
asi muelle las quales serã grã trabajo,

Виктор З. Деуффо

[illegible]

El sábado 7.º de agosto

y. mentions al S. indio q. quora el su
Domingo. y. de agosto.

Indubito fã via entredia nã se nã
se quarta legua.
Lunes 6. de agosto.

Y de lo quebro salto se descomulose el goyernio
ala caridada yinter lunde yda muerdada
se primon alv. se teexo so sospecho por m
justicia delon pamey basion y ponal quin
vero maza en la caridada por lo pesaba
ya el vado y dije el aluf. O uncoy
pariesen adian lyallado en ciertos rades
y quisquitos amo dije alv. dho. vido scalli
el aluf. un gra turbacion por un pda
ayudon ala dha muerdada sin su peligro
y dije O aluf. pena pda un suben O mor
nin alv. y mion era pda offenda y dehe
y uncoy en fin muerdado en los dha y mase
y uncoy
dado y muerdado leguno

Mar 5. 7. 24 Agustín

3-8 agosto]

DI CRISTOFORO COLOMBO

3

«día passare y el día lo que la noche navegare, tengo propósito de hazer
«carta nueva de navegar, en la qual situaré toda la mar & || tierras del mar
«Ocçéano en sus propios lugares, debaxo su viento, y más componer un libro,
«y poner todo por el semejante por pintura, por latitud del equinocial y lon-
gitud del occidente; y sobre todo cumple mucho que yo olvide el sueño, y
«tiente mucho el navegar, porque así cumple. las quales serán gran trabajo.

c. 2 A

« Viernes .3. de agosto.

« Partimos viernes .3. días de agosto de .1492. años de la barra de Saltes,
« á las ocho oras. anduvimos con fuerte virazón, hasta el poner del sol, hazia
« el sur sesenta millas, que son .15. leguas; después al sudueste y al sur, quarta
« del sudueste, que era el camino para las Canarias ».

El sábado .4. de agosto.

Anduvieron al sudueste, quarta del sur.

Domingo .5. de agosto.

Anduvieron su vía, entre día y noche, más de quarenta leguas.

Lunes .6. de agosto.

Saltó ó desencasóse el governario á la carabela Pinta, donde iba Martín
Alonso Pinçón, á lo que se creyó ó sospechó, por industria de un Gómez
Rascón y Christóval Quintero, cuya era la caravela, porque le pesava yr
aquel viaje; y dize el almyrante que, antes que partiesen, avían hallado en
ciertos reveses y grisquetas, como dicen, á los dichos. vídose allí el almy-
rante en gran turbación por no poder ayudar á la dicha caravela, sin su
peligro, y dize que alguna pena perdía con saber que Martín Alonso Pinçón
era persona esforçada y de buen ingenio. en fin anduvieron, entre día y noche,
veynte y nueve leguas.

Martes .7. de agosto.

Tornóse á saltar el governalle á la Pinta, y adováronlo, y anduvieron en
demanda de la || isla de Lançarote, qu'es una de las islas de Canaria. y an-
duvieron, entre día y noche, .xxv. leguas.

c. 2 B

30

Miércoles .8. de agosto.

Obo entre los pilotos de las tres caravelas opiniones diversas donde estaban;
y el almyrante salió más verdadero, y quisiera yr á Gran Canaria, por dexar

3. CH de bazo de m 27-34. Questo incidente, secondo F, ebbe luogo di sabato 4° .m. di Agosto. E a questa data l'ultimo H, che segue per questo pezzo fedelmente F, per decremento de CH l'inizio segun se sospachó por industria de Gomez Rascón, y Christoval Quintero marinosos 28. NF y sospechó

In 1888, when the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America was approaching, the Italian government appointed a commission, in collaboration with the Instituto Storico Italiano and the Societa Geografica Italiana, to provide a fitting celebration of the *mervigliosa entrapresa* of Columbus. This commission, after coöpting numerous distinguished foreigners (among them John Carter Brown of Providence and Bellamy Storer of Newport), wisely decided on the initiative of one of its members, Cesare De Lollis, Professor of Neo-Latin Literature in the University of Genoa, to direct its main efforts toward publishing documents and historical monographs. The result was that noble monument of Italian scholarship, the *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi . . . pel quarto centenario dalla Scoperta dell' America* (6 parts in 14 volumes, Rome, 1892-94). The first three volumes are devoted to the extant writings of Columbus, two of them are edited by De Lollis himself. It was all done in the best manner; the volumes are folios, printed in large, clear type on hand-made paper with wide margins. Unfortunately this very sumptuousness of the format defeated one purpose of the *Raccolta* by making it so bulky and expensive that only large libraries could afford the price or the space. The *Raccolta* is difficult to come by, and impossible to carry about. Hence the majority of publications on Columbus and the Discovery since 1892 betray neither use nor knowledge of this really indispensable corpus.

In Part I, Volume I, of the *Raccolta* De Lollis printed a text of the Las Casas Abstract of Columbus's Journal, from the same manuscript that Navarrete had used. De Lollis, trained as a classical scholar, treated the Journal and other writings of Columbus as he would have done a text of Virgil or of Cicero. All the scholarly apparatus is there. First, there is an introduction with notes in double columns, giving the history of the manuscript and comparing it with the *Historia* of Las Casas and the *Historie* of Ferdinand. The Journal itself occupies 119 pages in folio. All important variants between this text and Navarrete's are duly noted, and relevant passages from the *Historie* and *Historia* are incorporated in the

notes. Following the best usage of editors of classical texts, De Lollis expanded all abbreviations, and supplied the punctuation. Usually, but by no means invariably, he respected the spelling;²⁴ and he supplied modern accents and capitalized proper names. If one accepts, as we do, the principle that old documents should be treated by this "expanded" method, rather than printed with all their abbreviations and contractions *literatim et verbatim*, there is little to say in criticism of De Lollis's text. His only shortcoming was his unfamiliarity with fifteenth-century Spanish. Thus, in expanding contractions, he did not always employ a form that was good spelling in 1492, or in 1892.²⁵ But the collation was done by a Spanish scholar, Julián Paz y Espeso,²⁶ and together they did a magnificent job. The *Raccolta* text is so much better than Navarrete's that it should have been the basis of every English translation printed since 1892; yet that of Cecil Jane is the only one that betrays any knowledge of the *Raccolta* text.

The accompanying facsimiles of the original manuscript, and of the corresponding parts of De Lollis and Navarrete will both show the nature of the differences better than any minute description.

3. TRANSLATIONS

We have examined five independent translations of the whole of Columbus's Journal: one French, and four English (Kettell, Markham, Thacher, and Jane). In addition there are two Italian and one German translation which we have not examined.

The French translation was a very ambitious work, which proposed to cover Navarrete's entire *colección*; but only three volumes covering Navarrete's first, were actually printed.²⁶

²⁴ Note, for instance, in the example reproduced: August 3, Las Casas's *myllos* became *millas*; but (August 6) Las Casas's *yr* is not modernized as *ir*.

²⁵ A few instances of this sort have been called to our attention by Professor J. D. M. Ford.

^{26a} Alice Gould, in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, LXXXVI (1925), 492n.

²⁶ *Relations des Quatre Voyages entrepris par Christophe Colomb pour la découverte du nouveau-monde . . . publiées . . . par Don M. F. de Navarrete . . . traduit de l'espagnol, par MM. F. T. A. Chalumeau de Verneuil . . . et De La*

Navarrete himself supervised the translation, which was made by MM. Chalumeau de Verneuil and De La Roquette, both Spanish scholars and members of the Real Academia of Madrid and of several geographic societies. Volume I is taken up with a translation of Navarrete's introduction, and with abundant new notes; the Journal of the First Voyage, with notes, occupies pp. 1-345 of Volume II.

This Verneuil and De La Roquette translation is the one used by almost all French writers on Columbus and the Discovery of America, with the exception of Vignaud and Harris, who seem consistently to have used the text of Navarrete. It has been reprinted, in whole or in part, in various popular editions which need not concern us here. In general, the vice of the French translation consists in the effort of the editors to turn Columbus's simple, almost illiterate narrative into literary French. Little damage was done to the essential meaning by these literary embellishments; but occasionally, despite Navarrete's supervision, the meaning was radically altered.²⁷ One good feature was the inclusion of Spanish words and phrases of which the meaning was doubtful, in parentheses in the text. But on the whole the French translation is untrustworthy.

The really useful features of it were the notes by the collaborators, especially those of the Baron Cuvier, the eminent naturalist, on the fauna and flora that Columbus mentioned. But no effort was made to improve on Navarrete's identifica-

Roquette . . . et accompagné de notes des traducteurs et de MM. Abel Rémusat, Adrien Balbi, baron Cuvier, Jomard, Labouderie, Letronne, de Rossel, Saint-Martin, Walckenaer, etc. 3 vols., Paris, 1828.

²⁷ One mistake of the French translators, which none of the English repeated, had unexpected consequences. The Journal for November 27 (*Raccolta*, p. 50, ll. 9-10) speaking of Puerto Baracoa in Cuba, says *y entrando por ella tanto como longura de la barca, tenía cinco braças, y ocho de hondo*. The correct translation is "and entering it for a boat's length it had a depth of 5 and 8 fathoms." The French translators (II, 146) rendered this, "et lorsqu'on y était arrivé, on voyait qu'elle avait une largeur de cinq brasses, se qui était la dimension en longueur de la chaloupe; elle en avait huit de profondeur." Thus it was the ship's boat that was 5 fathoms long, not the harbor that was 5 fathoms deep. From this imaginary length of the boat, one writer has deduced the size of the *Santa Maria*! Of course Columbus, like all seamen, used *brazas* (fathoms) only for depth of water.

tions of places. It is evident that none of the French translators or collaborators had ever visited the scenes of this voyage. None of them were acquainted with maritime matters, and their translations of the Admiral's nautical phrases leave much to be desired.

The earliest translation of Columbus's Journal, and for sixty-six years the only English translation, was published in Boston in 1827.²⁸ The translator, Samuel Kettell, was a Boston schoolteacher, newspaperman, and hack-writer for S. G. Goodrich ("Peter Parley").²⁹ He translated the whole of the Journal, and did it fairly well. Kettell knew both Spanish and nautical English, but he had no knowledge to correct Navarrete's notes on places. His fault was that of the French translators, though in a lesser degree; he tried to express Columbus's simple Spanish in literary English, and to vary the Admiral's monotonous repetitions of certain words and phrases by a variety of synonyms. He transposed persons, tenses, and voices freely, and abbreviated unnecessarily. For instance, in the Journal for October 24, Columbus names the sails that he set on the *Santa María*; a most valuable passage because it is the only evidence we have of the flagship's sail-plan or appearance. Kettell contented himself with "set all sail." In other passages that offered some difficulty he was apt to make rather wild guesses. The Kettell translation is, therefore, untrustworthy; yet as corrected in the edition of 1931, it becomes one of the best.

Kettell's translation has twice been reprinted, once without credit to him. Albert and Charles Boni, a now extinct New York publishing house, brought out in 1924 *Journal of First Voyage to America by Christopher Columbus*. With

²⁸ *Personal Narrative of the First Voyage of Columbus to America. From a manuscript recently discovered in Spain. Translated from the Spanish*. Boston: 1827. The Journal occupies pp. 9-238, the Letter to Rafael Sanchez [*sic*] pp. 240-64; Notes and Appendix, including the Toscanelli Letter, and the Capitulations, pp. 67-303. The translator's name nowhere appears in the book, but there is no doubt of his identity. Markham states (*Journal*, Hakluyt Society, LXXXVI, 1893, p. vi, note) that George Ticknor the Spanish scholar suggested the translation, which may well be; but I find no mention of Kettell in Ticknor's *Life, Letters, and Journals* or of Columbus, except in Vol. I (7th ed., Boston, 1877), p. 380.

²⁹ See sketch in *Dictionary of American Biography*.

an Introduction by Van Wyck Brooks. This turns out to be a complete and literal reprint of the Kettell edition of 1827, notes, appendix, mistakes and all, without any mention of Kettell's name. Mr. Brooks, whose brief introduction is an excellent appraisal of the Journal's character and importance, never knew whose translation it was, and performed no editorial function. The publishers merely sent him the proof and he wrote the introduction.

Once more the Kettell translation appeared in new dress, in A. W. Lawrence and Jean Young, eds., *Narratives of the Discovery of America* (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1931). Kettell's translation occupies the major part of the book, and here the obscure Samuel rates a credit line; the editors explain in the preface that they used his translation because it was sounder than Markham's, "though it was found necessary to subject it to drastic revision." The revision, it may be said, is not very thorough; a hasty comparison only seems to have been made with the Navarrete text and with other translations. Some of Kettell's omissions—such as the names of sails set on October 24—have been supplied, some of his bad guesses³⁰ properly retranslated, and some but not all his mistakes corrected. On the other hand, new mistakes have been made. The little *pardelas* (petrels), which Kettell had wisely left untranslated, since he could not make them out, because Sir Clements's "sandpipers," endowed with an extraordinary power of off-shore flight.³¹ And some of the revisions proved to be little more accurate than the 1827 text.³² The net result is a considerable improvement over the original Kettell, yet a far from trustworthy translation.

³⁰ One of these is the closing passage to February 18, about concealing the course from the pilots.

³¹ January 8 and February 5; "terns" on January 31 and on February 2.

³² A passage in the Journal of February 7, of which several translators have made heavy weather, *y al este passava de barlovento de la isla de la Madera, dose leguas de la parte del norte* (*Raccolta*, p. 105, ll. 10-11), which Kettell translated "and to the East, twelve leagues beyond the meridian of Madeira," Lawrence and Young made "and to the East, twelve leagues to windward of the meridian of Madeira." For "meridian" read "parallel." Some but not all of Navarrete's notes, and a few others, are introduced.

Samuel Kettell's original translation held the field until 1893, when the Hakluyt Society brought out a new one by its president, Clements R. Markham (1830-1916).³³ This is the best known of all English translations, the most widely reprinted, and the most inaccurate.

Shortly after this translation appeared, Markham was knighted. His high reputation as a Spanish scholar is a mystery. In his lifetime "Don Clemente" was accepted in Latin America as an able interpreter of the Conquistadores to the English-speaking world; both in Britain and the United States the name of "Sir Clements" was mentioned with awe and reverence.³⁴ And although the unsoundness of his translations of the Peruvian chronicles has been convincingly demonstrated in this REVIEW,³⁵ his reputation is still high both in the British Isles and in America, and his translations are the "standard" ones dear to students and reference librarians.

Markham was well qualified by experience, if not by temperament, to do an excellent translation of the Columbus Journal. He had served in the Royal Navy in the days of sail, and was familiar with the old-time nautical nomenclature and ways of doing things. He had traveled extensively in many parts of the world, although not, apparently, on the path of Columbus's First Voyage. His Spanish, although self-taught, was sufficient. He had been secretary to the Royal Geographical Society for twenty-five and to the Hakluyt Society for twenty-nine years, both of which gave him much practical editorial experience.³⁶ In the 1912 "Who's Who"

³³ *The Journal of Christopher Columbus (During his First Voyage, 1492-93), and Documents relating to the Voyages of John Cabot and Gaspar Corte Real. Translated, with Notes and an Introduction by Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S.* London: Hakluyt Society, 1893 (No. LXXXVI of "Works issued by The Hakluyt Society").

³⁴ Professor J. D. M. Ford of Harvard, who was one of the first to see through "Don Clemente", has amusingly described to the writer his difficulty in getting a review that called attention to his inaccuracies, printed in the *New York Outlook* some forty years ago.

³⁵ Harry Bernstein and Bailey W. Diffie, "Sir Clements R. Markham as a Translator," *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVII (1937), 546-557. See also Bailey W. Diffie, "A Markham Contribution to the *Legenda Negra*," *ibid.*, XVI (1936), 95-103.

³⁶ See sketches of his life in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., and *Dictionary of National Biography, Twentieth Century, 1912-1921*.

he stated that he had edited twenty-two volumes for the Hakluyt Society and three for other societies. Yet the text of his translation of Columbus's Journal is characterized throughout by gross carelessness and inaccuracy, even in maritime details; frequently mistranslating compass points, reversing the meaning of statements, and omitting whole clauses without any warning; whilst his annotations, mostly lifted (not without credit) from Navarrete,³⁷ are sparse and often misleading.³⁸

If Markham is blameworthy for issuing so imperfect a translation over the imprint of the learned society of which he was president, the American scholars responsible thirteen years later for reprinting and presenting it to the American public as standard, are doubly to blame. In 1902 the American Historical Association approved the series known as *Original Narratives of Early American History*, and appointed Dr. J. Franklin Jameson the general editor. The purpose, says Dr. Jameson in the volume now under review, was to provide students, libraries and readers with "the *ipsissima verba* of the first narrators, Argonauts or eye-witnesses, vivacious explorers or captains courageous"; the English translations are to be the "best available" or "fresh versions." Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons undertook the publication of this series "under the auspices of the American Historical Association." In general, the "Original Narratives" series fulfilled the high expectations of those who authorized it; but not so the initial volume, at least its Columbian section.

This was Julius E. Olson and Edward G. Bourne, eds., *The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot, 985-1503* (New York, 1906; second edition, 1925). It included the Norse sagas on Vinland edited by Olson, and documents on the Cabot voy-

³⁷ Markham's translation is based on the text of Navarrete. He is perhaps not to be blamed for this, as De Lollis's *Raccolta* text did not appear until 1892, probably after Markham's work was almost finished. But the *Raccolta* text is not even mentioned in his introduction, and the Hakluyt Society's volume came out in 1893.

³⁸ For instance, to the statement of the Admiral when at Moustique Bay, Haiti, on December 13, 1492, that the day was 20 *ampolletas* long, and the latitude 34°, Markham appends the notes that they are transcribers' blunders. Obviously they are Columbus's own blunders; he had already made worse ones.

ages, with which we are not here concerned, and selected documents on the four voyages of Columbus, including the entire Journal of his first voyage. The selection was well made. But, sad to say, Bourne chose the Markham translation. Why he did so is a mystery. Edward Gaylord Bourne (1860-1908), Professor of History at Yale, is said to have been "preëminently a master of historical criticism,"³⁹ a good Spanish scholar and an expert on the period of discovery; his *Spain in America, 1450-1580* (1904) is considered a landmark in North American historiography. Yet, instead of making the new and accurate translation of Columbus's Journal from the De Lollis text of which he was perfectly capable, and for which there was a crying need, he used that of Markham. Thus a very untrustworthy version was given a new lease of life by the authority of Bourne's reputation, and that of the American Historical Association. Yet Bourne must have been aware of Markham's shortcomings, for he occasionally corrected some gross error in the text by a footnote.⁴⁰ But for every error thus noted by the new editor, there are at least twenty undetected.

Neither do Bourne's annotations reflect much credit on American scholarship. Navarrete's place identifications, excepting the first landfall, are incorporated without correction; even obsolete Spanish names in Haiti, such as *Puerto Escudo*, *Isla de Ratons*, *Puerto Frances*, are not given their modern French or English equivalents.⁴¹ For the fauna and flora he relied largely on Cuvier's notes to the French translation of 1828, adding a few annotations from obvious handbooks, but failing to enlist the aid of his scientific colleagues at Yale who could have pointed out that in many instances a century of scientific work had rendered Cuvier's notes obsolete. Markham, besides many other errors in natural history, translated the Spanish word *pardela* (petrel) two different ways, both inaccurate: "tern" and "sandpiper." Rather late in the Jour-

³⁹ Sketch by Frank W. Pitman in *Dictionary of American Biography*.

⁴⁰ E.g., *Northmen, Columbus and Cabot*, pp. 98 (Sept. 20), 101 (Sept. 25), 103-04 (Sept. 30, but was unable to explain what it meant), 115 (Oct. 15) 118, (Oct. 16), 120 (Oct. 16), 121 (Oct. 17). Toward the end of the Journal Bourne stopped doing this, although the latter part of Markham is, if anything, more inaccurate than the first.

⁴¹ *Id.*, pp. 171, 198-99.

nal, Bourne does call attention to Markham's ornithological shortcomings,⁴² correcting the "sandpipers" in the Journal for September 24, and the "terns" on January 31 and February 2; but he allows "sandpipers" to stand unchallenged on February 5, thus preserving Markham's strange picture of flocks of sandpeep appearing in mid-ocean.⁴³

Most serious of all, Bourne failed to correct Markham's frequent blunders in translating Spanish compass points.

Mistranslation of compass points is common to all the English translations except Kettell's, but Markham is the greatest offender. His errors are serious enough to put anyone off who is trying to trace Columbus's course or to study his navigation; and they are unnecessary, since ten minutes' study of the Spanish method of boxing the compass is sufficient to put anyone right. The main difficulty seems to have been ignorance of the fact that one meaning of *cuarta* or *quarta* in Spanish is a "point" of the compass, a thirty-second part of the circle. Thus, when a Spaniard of those days wished to say North by East (a single point East of North), he said *Norte cuarta del Nordeste*, and to translate this, as Thacher and Jane do, "North a quarter to the Northeast," is not only inaccurate as to *cuarta*, but means nothing in English. Similarly, when a Spaniard wished to indicate the point that we call Southwest by West, he said *Sudueste cuarta del Ueste*; and to translate this (as the same men do) "Southwest a quarter to the West" is not only inaccurate but misleading, because "Southwest a quarter West" (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ W) in English means a quarter-point and not a full point west of southwest.⁴⁴

A few examples will demonstrate the wild work that the translators have made of Columbus's compass points.

⁴² *Id.*, p. 230 n.

⁴³ *Id.*, pp. 100, 233-35. On February 6 Columbus says *vieron mucha[s] aves y pardellas*. Markham and Bourne translate this (p. 235) "They saw many birds."

⁴⁴ Columbus's compass card was marked for full points only, and he never used fractional points. If he wished to indicate a course between two points, he used the phrase *y tomaba de* (lit., "and taken from"). Thus, *Sudeste y tomaba de la cuarta del sur* is what we should call "Southeast, southerly." See example under December 6.

DECEMBER 6

At daybreak, when Columbus was approaching Haiti, he gives a number of compass bearings on different points. All the translators except Kettell have made such a mess of these that it would be impossible to identify the points or ascertain the *Santa María's* position. But if we follow the *Raccolta* or the Navarrete text, they all converge neatly at a point about 12 miles N by E of Cape St. Nicolas Mole, and enable us to identify the various capes. What the translators did with these bearings may best be shown in a table. It will be understood that the bearings in quotes are abbreviations of Thacher's and Jane's literal translation of the Spanish, and do not represent anything known to the English compass.

	<i>Raccolta</i> , p. 56	Correct trans.	Kettel ⁴⁵	Markham ⁴⁶	Thacher	Jane	French trans. ⁴⁷
C. Estrella....	Sur, quarta del sudeste.	S by W	S by W	SSW	"S¼SW"	"S¼SE"	"S¼SW"
isla no grande.	Leste.....	E	E	E	E	omitted	E
C. Elefante....	Leste, quarta del sueste.	E by S	E by S	E	"E¼SE"	"E¼SE"	"E¼SE"
C. Cinquin....	Lessueste.....	ESE	ESE	SE	ESE	ESE	ESE
gran scisura...	Sueste, y tomava de la quarta del leste.....	SE, E'ly	SE by E	omitted	"SE a little on the quarter of the E"	"SE, slightly to the E"	"SE inclinant vers le quart-E"

The Journal for January 19 is a very short one, containing only about 50 words. But the translators make of it a veritable comedy of errors, not only as to the courses but as to the birds sighted.

JANUARY 19

Accurate translations of the winds and courses are naturally very important for any student of Columbus's navigation. The third and fourth courses above, in conjunction with the wind, show that the *Niña* could sail as close as 5 points on the wind at times, but was forced to fall off to 6.

⁴⁵ All three editions.

⁴⁶ Including the Markham-Bourne (*N.C.C.*).

⁴⁷ Here I abbreviate *Ouest* "W." The French translators' points would be as incomprehensible to a French mariner as Thacher's and Jane's are to those of our nation.

Raccolta, p. 101	Correct trans.	KETTELL		MARKHAM		Thacher	Jane	French trans.
		1827	1931	1893	Bourne			
Norte, quarta del nordeste.	N by E	N by E	N by E	NNE	NNE	"N $\frac{1}{4}$ NE"	"N $\frac{1}{4}$ NE"	"N $\frac{1}{4}$ NE"
Nordeste, quarta del norte.....	NE by N	NE by N	NE by N	NE by N	NE by N	"NE $\frac{1}{4}$ N"	"NE $\frac{1}{4}$ N"	"NE $\frac{1}{4}$ N"
Nordeste con el viento leasueste....	NE, wind ESE	NE, wind ESE	NE, wind ESE	NE, wind SW	NE, wind SW	NE, wind ESE	NE, wind ESE	NE, wind ESE
[Nordeste] quarta del norte.....	NE by N	NE by N	N	WSW	WSW	"to the quarter of the N"	N	"quart-N"
alcatazras....	boobies	pelicans	gannets	boobies	boobies	pelicans	pelicans	<i>sous</i>
rabos de juncos	tropic-birds	tropic-birds	tropic-birds	frigate-birds	bosun-birds	ring-tails	frigate-birds	<i>pailles-en-queue</i>
rabiforcados...	frigate-birds	<i>rabihorcadoes</i>	frigate-pelicans	terns	frigate-birds	frigate-pelicans	terns	<i>frégates</i>

JANUARY 27

Raccolta: *anduvo al nordeste y al norte, quarta del nordeste...*

Navarrete: *anduvo al Nordeste y al Norte, y al Norte⁴⁸ cuarta del Nordeste...*

Kettell: "steered NE. and N."

Markham-Bourne: "they steered N.E. and N.E. by E."

Thacher and Jane "he went to the northeast and to the north quarter north-east."

All are wrong. The correct translation is, "he went (or proceeded or steered, if you will) to the NE, and to the N by E."

Every translator without exception misleads the casual reader by rendering Columbus's *millia* as "mile." His *millia* was the old Roman *millia passuum* as understood in medieval Italy. This Roman or Italian mile equalled about 4,850 feet,⁴⁹ as against 5,280 feet for the English (now international) nautical mile. Consequently Columbus's *millia* is roughly

⁴⁸ De Lollis observes in a footnote to the *Raccolta* (p. 103) that the second *y al norte* is the scribe's repetition. If Columbus had wished to say that he steered to the N as well as NE and NE by E, he would have mentioned the N rhumb last.

⁴⁹ George E. Nunn, *Geographical Conceptions of Columbus* (1924), p. 18, calls it 1480 metres; applying the factor 39.37 inches, we obtain 4855.63 feet to the Roman mile.

three-quarters of a nautical mile, and there were four of them to his *legua*. It is true that most of the English translators explain this somewhere in a footnote;⁵⁰ but any casual reader or researcher who merely dipped into the text for information at some point would suppose that "mile" meant either a statute or nautical mile, and might readily conclude that the Admiral was a tremendous liar about the speed of his fleet! Translators should either insert "Roman" or "Italian" before "mile," or if they wish to use the word "mile" unqualified reduce the number by one-quarter. Columbus's statement of speed, e.g., January 17, *quatro millas por ora*, should be rendered either "4 Roman miles an hour," or "3 knots."⁵¹ Columbus's *legua*, on the contrary, is so near to an English league of 3 nautical miles—one and six one-hundredths of an English league, to be precise—that it is sufficiently correct to translate it "league."

Markham's mistakes, reproduced without comment by Bourne, are so frequent that only a small part of even those that I have noted can be reproduced here. I give a few examples only to show their character. On October 5 Markham says the wind "increased somewhat" at night when Columbus said *afloxó*, "it went down" (as it generally does). On October 7 and 17 he leaves out whole clauses: *al levantar del sol* (*Raccolta*, p. 13, l. 22), and *y quería llevar el dicho camino del sur y sueste, porque aquella parte* (*id.*, p. 23, ll. 26, 27). October 21 (*id.*, p. 28, l. 11), *yo fallaré recaudo* is rendered "I obtain tidings" instead of "I shall find a collection (or quantity)," and he has the Admiral collecting specimens "of the land" where the original (*id.*, p. 27, l. 23) says *las yervas* "the plants." November 16 (*id.*, p. 42, l. 32), Markham leaves out the clause on praying before the cross, omits (*id.*, l. 36) the definition of *cala* (probably an interpolation of Las Casas, to be sure); and where Columbus has his people "dive in" for pearls (*id.*, p. 43, l. 7), Markham has them "examine." November 20 (*id.*, p. 44, ll. 9-10), *de donde salía* omitted; (l. 13) *aquel día* translated "that night," (l. 14) *ver* rendered

⁵⁰ Kettell on p. 12; Markham-Bourne (*O.N.S.*) not until p. 91; Jane nowhere that we can find; Thacher, I, 516; Verneuil and De La Roquette, II, 7.

⁵¹ A knot means one nautical mile an hour. Seamen never say "knots per hour," and knots should never be used as a measure of distance.

"explore," (l. 21) *viento rezio* rendered "light wind" and the following *amansó* ("it moderated") omitted; *al terzero quarto de la noche* ("at the third night watch") rendered "at three o'clock in the morning";⁵² *salido el sol* (l. 24) translated "at sunset" and *marcó* ("he picked up" or "was off") omitted. And out of seven compass points mentioned that day, two are mistranslated. Few days in the Markham-Bourne edition show such a bad score as this, but no day of over three or four lines is free from error, and by error I do not mean a mere difference of opinion as to phrasing, or as to *le mot juste*, but an unheralded omission, or a real mistake such as the sun setting when it is rising,⁵³ "before" when Columbus says "after,"⁵⁴ sails being lowered when they are hoisted, wrong courses and mistaken distances.

Markham has a certain terseness and vigor to his style that Thacher's and Jane's translations lack, and which make it better reading than most of the others; but it is completely unreliable. It passes all understanding why Edward G. Bourne should have used so shabby a piece of work for a standard text, and, moreover, have treated it as a sort of sacred scripture that could only be corrected by a footnote.

The first volume of John Boyd Thacher's monumental three-volume work, *Christopher Columbus, his Life, his Work, his Remains*, came out in 1903. The most valuable feature of Thacher is his inclusion of original sources, both in facsimile and in translation. The text of the Journal he did not reproduce, probably because of its length; but a fresh translation of the Navarrete text (the *Raccolta* again ignored) occupies pp. 513-86 and 604-68. Thacher employed various persons to translate for him, and generally names them; but the Journal's translator is anonymous. From internal evidence he would seem to have been a person who had a good dictionary knowledge of Spanish, but a very remote idea of what the Journal was about, and nearly complete ignorance of those nautical matters with which Columbus necessarily dealt at

⁵² That is how we figure it too, but the explanation belongs in a footnote.

⁵³ Another instance will be found on January 22—*el salir del sol* becomes "sunset."

⁵⁴ *E.g.*, January 21, *Ayer, después del sol puesto* becomes "yesterday, before sunset."

considerable length. Thacher's translation is also weak on fauna and flora. We are spared the sea-going sandpeep, but the Sargasso Sea is covered with "grass."⁵⁵ The annotations, not without garbling, are mostly from Navarrete and Las Casas.

Finally we come to the translation by Cecil Jane. This gentleman, who died in 1932, was an Oxford man and a public-school teacher in England who engaged in various literary labors during his spare time. For the Hakluyt Society he edited and translated two volumes entitled *Select Documents illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus* (2d ser., LXV, 1929, and 2d ser., LXX, 1932). In these the Spanish texts and Jane's translation were printed on opposite pages, a commendable innovation. The Journal of the First Voyage was reserved for a third volume, but Jane's death intervened. In the meantime, however, he had completed his translation, which was published without the Spanish text in a beautifully printed volume, *The Voyages of Christopher Columbus . . . newly Translated and Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Cecil Jane* (London, the Argonaut Press, 1930). The first 131 pp. are occupied by an Introduction, in which Jane presents his interesting and original views on Columbus's character and the nature of his enterprise. The Journal occupies pp. 135-258. The very sparse notes, mostly on persons mentioned in the text, are on pp. 329-34. There is no statement in the introduction respecting the manuscript or the printed texts; by internal evidence I should say that he used Navarrete mainly, but did some checking from the *Raccolta*.

Cecil Jane's translation is in some respects the best; so good that one wishes it could have been a little better. His interest in Columbus seems to have been personal and psychological, hence he was careless about navigation, Indians, fauna and flora, and made no attempt (other than some very inaccurate maps) to trace his course or identify his places of call. He apparently "did not know one end of a boat from the other," as mariners say, and was not nearly so successful

⁵⁵ Columbus's *yerba* and *yerbas* has to be translated "gulf-weed," "grass," "plants," or even "poison," according to the context.

as Markham in finding the correct English equivalent of Spanish nautical phrases. Otherwise, the Spanish is very well translated; and I have found him of much assistance in getting at the meaning of obscure phrases and obsolete words. Nevertheless, he carelessly omitted a considerable number of words and phrases, without any warning; and, as we have seen, his method of translating compass points requires a reference to the original text to find out what Columbus meant.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Here are some of Jane's mistakes and omissions, besides those elsewhere noted.

September 17 (*Raccolta*, p. 7, l. 6): *las agujas noruesteaban una gran quarta*; (Jane, p. 140): "the needles declined north-west a full quarter" ("point" is correct).

September 16 (*Raccolta*, p. 6, l. 19): *andiarían. xxxviii. leguas*; Jane (p. 140): "made thirty-eight leagues."

September 19 (*Raccolta*, p. 7, l. 32), and elsewhere: *alcatraz* rendered "pelican."

September 22 (*Raccolta*, p. 8, l. 30): *pardelas* rendered "sandpipers" (but correctly translated in January and February).

October 13 (*Raccolta*, p. 17, ll. 30-31): *las piernas muy derechas, todos á una mano, y no barriga, salvo muy bien hecha*; (Jane, p. 150): "Their legs are very straight; none are bowlegged. They are not fat, but have very good figures." Correct: "Their legs are very straight, all in a line, and no belly, but very well built."

November 24 (*Raccolta*, p. 46, l. 4): *á la ora de tercia del día*; Jane (p. 180): "at three o'clock" ("terce," 9 a.m., is right).

November 27 (*Raccolta*, p. 50, l. 6): *qu' es como una escodella*; Jane (p. 185): "which is like a small hammer" ("little porringer" is correct).

December 5 (*Raccolta*, p. 56, ll. 1-2): *dava este reguardo*; Jane (p. 191): "this gave protection" ("he took this precaution" is right).

December 6 (*Raccolta*, p. 56, l. 21): *Sur, quarta del sudueste* rendered "South, quarter south-east"; (ll. 23-24): *xxviii. myllas. pareciale otra tierra como isla no grande, al leste, y estaría d' él* omitted by Jane (p. 192); (*Raccolta*, p. 57, l. 7): *se pone la proa al sursueste*; Jane (p. 192): "and he steered to the south-south-east" (correct, "the vessel's bow should be held to the SSE"—he is giving sailing directions, not stating what he did); (*Raccolta*, p. 57, ll. 16-18): *y así es todo el dicho puerto de cada cabo hondo dentro, á una pasada de tierra, de .15. braças, y limpio*; omitted by Jane; (l. 28): *poner los bordos en las yervas*; Jane (p. 193): "at which landing planks could be laid on the grass" (correct, "to put the gunwales alongside the grass").

December 17 (*Raccolta*, p. 66, l. 18): *holgáronse mucho con los christianos los Yndios*; Jane (p. 203): "the Indians were greatly pleased with the Christians".

December 25 (*Raccolta*, p. 79, l. 28): *se abrieron los conventos*; Jane (p. 217): "the hatches came open" (correct, "the planks [or seams] opened"); (p. 80, l. 1) *adelante*; Jane: "inland"; (correct: "distant").

Yet, on the whole, Jane's is the most accurate of the translations. His only consistent fault, other than those of omission of fauna, flora and compass points, is an attempt to write a more literary English than the very unliterary style of Columbus warrants.

Rating the different translations on a scale of 100, with 75 points for maximum accuracy, 15 for scholarly and informing annotation, and 10 for readableness, I should score them as follows: Jane, 75; Kettell (Lawrence and Young), 65; Thacher, 60; Markham-Bourne, 50; Kettell (1827), 45; Markham, 35.

As the reader may have guessed, these gloomy conclusions as to the extant translations have determined me to make a new one. A volume of Columbian sources, both texts and translations, is already contracted for.⁵⁷ My colleagues, in American ethnology, botany, zoölogy, ornithology and oceanography are rendering me expert assistance in annotating relevant passages of scientific interest; my master Professor J. D. M. Ford is kindly giving his valuable time to help me extract the correct meaning from Columbus's often obscure Spanish; and I am planning next winter in the "*Harvard Columbus Expedition*" to complete by personal inspection an accurate identification of the places that the Admiral touched at and described. I hope that readers of this REVIEW will favor me with elucidations that they have made; and all will be suitably acknowledged. Since *humanum est errare*, my text and translation will not be perfect; but at least I shall spare neither pains nor expense to make them worthy of the most important and epoch-making voyage in America, or indeed in human history.

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January 13 (*Raccolta*, p. 97, ll. 6-7): *una gran cuchillada en las nalgas*; Jane (p. 235): "a great cut on the thigh" (correct: "a great slash on the buttocks").

January 21 (*Raccolta*, p. 101, l. 26): *después del sol salido*; Jane (p. 239): "after sunset."

February 13 (*Raccolta*, p. 106, ll. 21-22): *atormentavan los navíos*; Jane (p. 245): "broke over the ships" (correct, "strained the vessels").

February 14 (*Raccolta*, p. 106, l. 26, p. 107, l. 1, and p. 109, l. 6): *el papahigo*; Jane (p. 245, twice and 247): "the studding-sail" (correct, "the squaresail").

⁵⁷ By Messrs. Little, Brown and Company.

MERCEDES AND REALENGOS; A SURVEY OF THE PUBLIC LAND SYSTEM IN CUBA

Free land is being distributed to Cuban farmers. Perhaps it would be more nearly correct to say that some land is being distributed to some farmers. Since the downfall of President Gerardo Machado in 1933 many advocates of various forms of "social justice" have proposed giving farms to the *guajiros*, or rural Cubans, as a means of raising their standard of living. Some of the more radical organizations have gone so far as to propose a division of large private holdings for this purpose. The plan that is now being carried out, however, is nothing more than a distribution of government lands that are known as *realengos*, or royal lands.

The problem of the *realengos* is not new. In fact, it dates from the conquest of the island and has given headaches to every generation of officials that has tried to govern Cuba, to say nothing of the persons who have had claims (good or bad) to the use of these lands. The problem, however, is so mixed with that of the *mercedes* that it is necessary to treat the two together. Following instructions from Diego de Colón, Diego Velásquez, the conqueror of the island, immediately set about founding cities in what he considered promising localities. Time has verified the wisdom of some of his selections, but that can scarcely be said of all. But that is neither here nor there. It is enough to say here that the original seven were Baracoa, Santiago de Cuba, Bayamo, Trinidad, Sancti-Spíritus, Puerto Príncipe (Camagüey) and Havana. For administrative purposes the island was considered to be divided among these seven, but it was long before any definite boundaries were assigned to their jurisdictions. The cities themselves were laid out according to a plan prepared in Spain. In the center of each was the plaza or park, which might contain the market or other public buildings. From the plaza the city spread out in all directions, with the

streets laid out according to the plan. After reserving sites for public buildings around the plaza, building lots were assigned to the inhabitants. Around the city a strip of land was reserved as a common pasture for the use of all inhabitants. Beyond the common the land was distributed in farms and ranches which were held under grants called *mercedes*, or holdings in usufruct.

Some of the early grants seem to have been made by Velásquez but the city councils assumed, with precedents, the right to distribute land¹—a right of which they were not deprived until November 23, 1729.² The king, of course, could give either usufruct or absolute rights to land, but the difficulties and expense involved prevented many appeals to that quarter. With princely domains at their disposal, and with no immediate prospect of the population becoming numerous, the municipalities proceeded to hand out *mercedes* in a lavish and indefinite manner. In doing so they probably followed the precedent established by Velásquez. Some of these early grants mentioned no boundaries whatever, but simply designated the general location and the proposed seat of the grantee or his representative.³ A few, at least, were assigned more or less definite radii. The first mention of these famous circular grants that Miss Wright found in her investigations was a petition in 1572 by the heirs of one of the original holders asking that their ranch of three leagues' radius be increased to one of five.⁴ The present writer has been told by persons who have dealt in land sales in Cuba that some of the grants had such indefinite radii as the distance that a cow-bell, or the crowing of a rooster, could be heard.

Indefinite boundaries could but lead to trouble regardless

¹ I. A. Wright, *Early History of Cuba, 1492-1586* (New York, 1916), pp. 62, 82, 94. Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, *Manual de historia de Cuba (económico, social y político)*, (Havana, 1938), pp. 86-87. Guerra says that the councils were using the right as early as 1536 and probably before.

² Archivo Nacional de Cuba (hereinafter cited as A.N.C.), Intendencia, 12,662. José María Zamora y Coronado, *Biblioteca de legislación ultramarina* (7 vols. Madrid, 1844-1849), III, 415, 486, and VI, 43-44.

³ Ordinances of Cáceres, article 74. Copies of the ordinances are found in Zamora, *op. cit.*, III, 410-416, and Francisco Carrera y Jústiz, *Introducción a la historia de las instituciones locales de Cuba* (2 vols. Havana, 1905), II, 255-300.

⁴ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

of the sparsity of population. Soon disputes led to tragedies and the city of Santiago de Cuba requested the governor to intervene.⁵ He did not settle matters, however, and when Dr. Alonso de Cáceres, a judge of the *audiencia* of Santo Domingo, arrived in 1573 to investigate the administration of Menéndez de Avilés, he saw that something had to be done about the land problem. The next year he prepared a set of ordinances for the Cuban municipalities in which he made a serious effort to solve the problem; twelve out of eighty-eight articles of the ordinances being devoted to land grants.

The ordinances of Cáceres left the municipalities with the right to make grants, and no one could take possession of a town lot, ranch or farm site without a license from the corresponding city council, under penalty of two hundred ducats, one fourth of which was to be divided between the informer and the judge who pronounced the sentence. To obtain a new grant it was necessary to apply to the council, giving exact information about the residence of the applicant and the location and boundaries of the land desired. The council was required to summon all prospective neighbors of the applicant and all other persons who might be interested, in order that they might offer objections if they so desired. At the same time the *procurador* (public defender) of the city was to decide if the public would be injured in any way by the grant. In locating a town lot the *alcalde* (almost equivalent to mayor), a member of the council, and a builder had to be present "to see that it was not located in a street, that the streets went straight, and that the edifice be as pretty as possible." To locate ranches and farms a representative of the city council and all future neighbors of the grantee must go, six days' notice to the neighbors being required. Town lots, ranches, or farms had to be occupied within six months or the land reverted to the municipality. Land once settled but later left unoccupied for three years shared a like fate. It was stated in the ordinances that some persons had old grants of land which they pretended to use for ranches when, in reality, they had only enough cattle on them to hold a claim to the land. As such a policy would work an "injury to the state," such

⁵ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

persons were to be commanded to put sufficient cattle on the land or remove the few they had there, so that the land could be granted to someone else. To settle old boundary disputes the ordinances provided for the choice of three persons; one by the ranch owner, one by his opponent, and a third by the city council. No new grants could be made within eight leagues of cities in order that the inhabitants might have sufficient common pasture and woodland. Farms for cultivation, however, could be granted within ranches, the holders of the latter being allowed to annex the same amount of land in some direction. This provision was made, it was said, "so that bread would be produced."⁶

Although the whole of the ordinance of Cáceres did not receive royal approval until 1640, the articles dealing with the land grants were approved by an act (*auto*) of the *audiencia* of Santo Domingo in 1578.⁷ As such an act was valid unless disapproved by the king, we may consider these articles as in force from that date. The following year, on February 11, a royal *cédula* commanded the governor, Gaspar del Toro, to appoint a surveyor to delineate land grants. We are told that this *cédula* was the result of numerous "complaints that were appealed to the Supreme authorities."⁸ To the surveyor appointed in compliance with this *cédula*, Luís de la Peña, is usually ascribed the honor (or dishonor) of adopting the form and dimensions of the ranches granted from that date.⁹ It appears, however, that Peña was only carrying out instructions laid down in the *cédula*,¹⁰ although some of the details are probably his. These details may well be given here to make clear some statements that will be necessary later.

The cattle ranches, called *hatos*, were assigned a radius of two leagues, and the hog ranches, or *corrales*, a radius of one league. Because of the impossibility of describing such large circles, polygons of sixty-four sides were adopted. To con-

⁶ Ordinances of Cáceres, articles 63-75.

⁷ A.N.C., Intendencia, 12,662. Carrera y Jústiz, *op. cit.*, II, 296.

⁸ A.N.C., Intendencia, 12,662.

⁹ Ramón de la Sagra, *Historia económico-política y estadística de la Isla de Cuba* (Havana, 1831), p. 71.

¹⁰ A.N.C., Intendencia, 12,662 definitely ascribes this to the *cédula*.

struct these polygons, sixty-four radii were drawn from the center of each tract, at the end of which perpendicular sides were drawn. The cattle ranches had sides of forty-one *cordeles* and the hog ranches sides of twenty and one half *cordeles*, a *cordel* being twenty-four *varas* long. The *vara* measures 2.78 feet. In drawing the radii, the league was considered to be 5,000 *varas* in length. Farms for cultivation were assigned by *caballerías*, a word that is somewhat analogous to the expression "one-horse farm," used in some parts of the United States. The *caballería* varies from country to country in Hispanic-America, as it varied from colony to colony before independence. In Cuba it has also varied from time to time. For the grants in question the *caballería* was standardized as a square measuring eighteen *cordeles* on each side. At present a "cab" in Cuba equals about thirty-three and one-third acres. Parallelograms measuring twenty-seven by forty *varas* were adopted for city lots.¹¹

Attention has already been called to the fact that the *mercedes* were not granted as absolute property but in usufruct, the grantees having the perpetual use of the land with the right to pass them on to their heirs provided certain conditions were complied with. As indicated above, one of these conditions was that the land must be used in order that the state should not suffer; another was the payment of certain annual fees to the municipalities. What the early recipients of grants paid for their use does not appear in the records available. Acts of the city council of Havana of July 7, 1589, and June 1, 1639, set the annual payments as follows: six ducats for cattle ranches; four for hog ranches; one for a farm of one *caballería*; and two for a town lot. In the same schedule appears the fee of one ducat per annum for a water supply for a vegetable garden and another of three ducats for a *potrero* for horses.¹² *Potreros* varied in size according to location, but they were much smaller than hog and cattle ranches and "did not form an object in comparison with them." They were usually located in the parcels of land be-

¹¹ A.N.C., *Intendencia*, 12,662.

¹² Sagra, *op. cit.*, p. 71. A.N.C., *Intendencia*, 12,662.

tween the circles.¹³ When a grant was inherited or sold, a fee called *media anata*, or half years' income, was paid.

The ordinances of Dr. Cáceres and the work of the surveyor, Luís de la Peña, failed to prevent further troubles over land holdings. A map of Cuba showing the grants has the appearance of work done by a four-year-old draughtsman practicing with his father's compass. The circles sometimes overlap, sometimes fail to touch, while here and there, as if by accident, two or three are tangent to each other. In some places hog ranches fall wholly within cattle ranches. Some of these anomalies can be traced back of 1574, but many are due to careless locating of ranches after the well-meant ordinances of Cáceres and the appointment of the surveyor. In fact, many of the ranches were not surveyed until years after they were granted, if ever. Indefinite location of the centers of the ranches left the road open for unscrupulous grantees to change the location of their holdings so as to occupy more desirable land. This frequently happened in the case of watering places for cattle, to find which is still a problem in the dry season. It was often done to occupy better or more accessible pasture lands. A few lines from a circular order of August 8, 1777, issued by the intendant in an attempt to solve land problems, will serve to illustrate the situation:

. . . several proprietors . . . have established their seats not in the center but on the edge that seemed to them most useful because of water or other reasons, in which manner they have obtained the use of, and use, one half more land than belongs to them, by extending on that side as though they were situated in the center, in this way causing grave injuries to the Royal treasury, to which belongs the land not included in the boundaries of their grants, and perhaps to some private parties, to whom the land legally belongs, without this intendancy being able to stop such a pernicious error, although at various times it has repeated its orders.¹⁴

¹³ Zamora, *op. cit.*, VI, 48-53. The census of 1791 reported 978 *hatos*, 541 *corrales*, 3339 *potreros*, 195 farms for growing *casabe*, and 6074 dedicated to other crops. The *hatos* alone would have covered more than the total area of Cuba if there had been no overlapping. See A.N.C., Intendencia, 12,662 for this summary of the census.

¹⁴ Zamora, *op. cit.*, VI, 44-45, note I. Guerra, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 544 is a copy of a map which shows the location of the circular grants in a small district.

As if uncertain boundaries were not enough to complicate the land question, the laws of the Indies provided that *mercedes* should descend to the heirs of the grantees as holdings in common (*haciendas comuneras*).¹⁵ Therefore, instead of dividing the ranches on the death of the holder, or even following the rule of primogeniture, all of the heirs together assumed the use of the land. Sometimes they all tried to live at the same seat. More often the various heirs established homes or seats at different points on the ranch, all sharing in the proceeds of the whole ranch. Each generation of heirs made the situation worse. No one holder could develop a part of the whole or sell his share without the consent of all the partners. Since there were usually a few richer than the others who could use the common holdings to a good advantage, it was difficult to get the required consent for a sale of shares. Hence, ranches continued to be *haciendas comuneras* generation after generation, contrary to the best interests of the island. Commenting on this on May 9, 1818, in connection with an attempt to develop the new port of Nuevitas, the regent of the *audiencia* of Puerto Príncipe (that of Santo Domingo moved to Cuba after Spain lost her half of that island), Don Joaquín de Campuzano, said:

Scarcely does a person try to fence a piece of land, . . . when all of his partners oppose him, whose disastrous lawsuits ruin him, to the detriment of agriculture, and to the destruction of order in society.

In support of his statements Campuzano quoted from a report of a committee that was trying to develop Nuevitas. We may well select some lines from this quotation.

. . . the collective holding of ranches, now more than ever, hinders the cultivation of lands, impedes the use of them by the owners, and retards stock-raising, maintaining continual disastrous contention among the joint holders, which, beginning with their material interests, later transcends even these, and produces hatred between families, which is transmitted to posterity with obvious injury to good customs. . . .¹⁶

¹⁵ *Recopilación de leyes de Indias*, tit. 17, libro 4, ley I, *et. seq.*

¹⁶ Zamora, *op. cit.*, III, 487.

Thus far we have called attention to two of the factors that complicated the land problem in Cuba—uncertainty of boundaries, and holdings in common. Before reviewing the attempts to unravel the difficulties we must add the third—*realengos*. These “royal lands” were the parcels that remained in the possession of the king after the grants that have been mentioned. As may easily be imagined, they were of many shapes and sizes, the more desirable ones lying in irregular pieces between the large circular ranches. Others in mountainous or swampy areas were much larger and sometimes of fairly regular form. Prior to 1729 the *realengos*, like all lands in Cuba, were at the disposal of the city councils, but because of their size and location (especially with respect to the large ranches) they were not always desirable. However, as population increased the demand for them increased, but by that time the power to grant land had been taken away from the cities (in 1729) and given to a committee in Spain called the *comisión de composición de tierras*, of which more later. Although this committee had a subdelegate in Cuba, it frequently cost more than the value of a piece of land to go to Havana and fulfill all the requirements to obtain a grant, or buy one of the *realengos*. Out of this grew the Cuban version of “squatter sovereignty.”

Taking advantage of the fact that few persons dared go to the trouble and expense to obtain possession of the *realengos*, many holders of large ranches appropriated the parcels lying near them and in the course of years obtained a prescriptive right to their use. Other persons who desired small farms would simply “squat” on a *realengo* and take a chance of being ousted by the government or by some person who might present a claim. It was only natural that neither type of user would risk much money or work to develop a piece of land that might be taken from him at any time. From this it came about that (to use the terms of a royal *cédula* of October 15, 1754)

the *realengos* . . . remained uncultivated in many places, which with cultivation and cattle-raising would supply the immediate provinces, and in other places persons remain on usurped lands in default of

titles, without giving them the proper cultivation for fear of being denounced and sued because of them; from which injury to my royal treasury results.¹⁷

By 1729 the Spanish officials began to take note of the increasing complexity of the land problem and on November 23 of that year a royal order took the granting power from the municipalities and gave it to the *comisión de composición de tierras*, mentioned above.¹⁸ The city council of Havana was loath to part with a privilege that was profitable to the municipality, and probably advantageous to the members of the council and their friends and relatives. Accordingly, a protest, dated June 10, 1730, was sent to the king. This went through the usual official consideration and delay until February 16, 1739, when the Havanese were commanded to comply with the order of 1729. It was explained that the exercise of the privilege of granting land had caused many difficulties over indefinite boundaries, and had left insufficient royal lands on which to pasture the animals needed for the slaughterhouse in Havana. The Havanese were further informed that the necessity for granting ranches and farms in usufruct no longer existed since sufficient food was being produced to supply the cities in Cuba as well as the fleets that called at her ports; this having been, according to the order, the original purpose of such grants.¹⁹

The power to grant land remained with the *comisión de composición de tierras* until 1754. This committee had subdelegates in all Spanish colonies. In the case of Cuba there was only one who resided in Havana. During the time that the *comisión* was in charge an important case arose which was finally decided in 1752. In 1746 Lorenzo Montalvo, chief auditor of the naval department of Havana, bought the usufruct titles that one Captain Juan Pérez Caballero had acquired to three cattle ranches and five hog ranches located some thirty leagues southeast of Havana. These tracts had been originally granted by the Havana city council in 1559. Montalvo paid Pérez Caballero 33,071 *pesos* for his titles, after which he applied to José Gálvez, the subdelegate in

¹⁷ Zamora, *op. cit.*, VI, 41.

¹⁸ Zamora, *op. cit.*, VI, 43-44.

¹⁹ Zamora, *op. cit.*, VI, 45.

Havana, asking for a title in proprietary right on payment of a moderate sum. The subdelegate had the tracts surveyed and dispatched the title requested, collecting the sum of 1,500 *pesos* for the king's rights to the land and 239 *reales* for a tax called *media anata* (half year's income). The title was then sent to the king for confirmation. The case was discussed in the Council of the Indies and on April 24, 1752, the king in a royal order stated that the subdelegate had exceeded his powers in giving the title because the *comisión* that he represented had only power to deal with *realengos*, the previous grants by the municipalities being entirely out of their sphere. However, since Montalvo had already paid the money into the treasury in good faith, the king confirmed his title.²⁰

The above mentioned case may have had something to do with the transfer of the land problem to other authorities in 1754, but in the order which made the transfer (October 15) another cause was given, *viz.*, the difficulty experienced by many of going all the way to Havana to seek desired land titles, from which resulted "injury to the royal treasury." In the order of 1754 the land granting power was assigned to the viceroys and presidents of the colonial *audiencias*, from which it may easily be inferred that land problems were perplexing Spanish officials in other colonies. For Cuba this meant that the captain-general of Santo Domingo (who was the president of the *audiencia* whose territory included Cuba²¹) became the land authority for the island. This would have made matters worse for Cuba had the order not also commanded the viceroys and presidents to appoint judges and other representatives in the various localities to handle land problems.

The order of 1754 made elaborate provisions for the solution of land troubles, but the most important items may be summed up as follows: persons in undisputed possession of lands in 1700, either by purchase or *composición* (by which was meant an agreement with the government to pay a cer-

²⁰ Zamora, *op. cit.*, VI, 45-46.

²¹ Because of the loss of the Spanish part of Santo Domingo the *audiencia* was moved from there to Cuba in 1800. It was located in the city of Puerto Príncipe (now Camagüey). Before that event, however, the land problem in Cuba had been taken from the captain-general and given to the intendant.

tain amount annually for a given number of years, or perpetually), were to remain unmolested; those who had acquired lands after 1700 had to appear before a specified day and show their titles or other papers on pain of confiscation if someone "denounced" the land; in default of titles, persons who had prescriptive rights in 1700 could not be deprived of their holdings, provided that they could demonstrate undisputed possession; and the *audiencias* were made the courts of final appeal in land suits. "Denouncing" land became a plague in the years that followed.²² The order also instructed the officials entrusted with its enforcement to proceed with "suavity, temperance and moderation." This seems to have been the only provision that was carried out to the letter. The suavity, temperance and moderation used were such that the intendant could complain in 1777 of abuses in the language quoted above from the circular of August 8 of that year.

The circular referred to was another attempt to settle the numerous land disputes. In fact, it seems to have been only one of a long series of attempts made by intendants to cope with the problem, for the order said: "The intendency has failed to stop such pernicious error, although on divers occasions it has repeated its orders." On this occasion it commanded that "with the insertion of this act . . . no lines be permitted to be drawn from the seats except those following the boundaries specified in the titles." By following the specified boundaries the farm or ranch was to be delineated and any land that fell outside the boundaries was to be declared *realengo*, "although it be held by immemorial possession," and should be considered as land obtained "without title."²³

In attempting to show the failure of the order of 1754 we have gone beyond the period of the application of one of its provisions. As far as Cuba was concerned the land problem remained in the hands of the captain-general just a bare decade. When Spain recovered Havana in 1763, after an eleven-months occupation by the British, a number of reforms were

²² Zamora, *op. cit.*, VI, 41-43. A.N.C., Junta de Fomento, libro 172, pp. 124-125.

²³ Zamora, *op. cit.*, VI, 44-45, note 1.

made, including the establishment of an *intendencia* after the manner of those introduced into Spain from France earlier in the century. The instruction creating it was dated October 31, 1764, and it began functioning in February of the next year.

To the new administrative agency was given the jurisdiction over everything connected with the revenues, including land problems. The *audiencias* ceased to have jurisdiction in land suits, these being tried in the court of the intendant or those of his representatives throughout the island, with appeal to the *junta de apelaciones* in Havana (a court that went through many forms in the succeeding decades).²⁴ As has been indicated already by the references to the circular order of 1777, the *intendencia* up to that time had had no better success in ironing out land difficulties than the other agencies that had previously attempted to solve them. In 1797 a proposition came from Spain which had for its purpose the settlement of land disputes once for all. It was a product of Fernando de Saavedra, a creature of Godoy, who became secretary of treasury in November of that year. Saavedra suggested to the intendant that he have every land line in Cuba surveyed, and in this way determine exactly what belonged to the king, after which the royal lands could be sold to increase the revenue. This brought from the intendant, José Pablo Valiente (who was one of the most efficient that Cuba ever had), a report dated October 6, 1797, which made a thorough survey of the whole land problem, showing that the plan of Saavedra was "useless, prejudicial and terrible." That there were boundary disputes Valiente admitted, but he argued that the great majority of them were lying dormant. If the proposed survey was begun, they would break out afresh, leading to untold troubles and probably bloodshed. The boundary disputes were, for the most part, of centuries' standing and were, therefore, not in urgent need of settlement. It would be impolitic, he said, to try to carry out the Saavedra plan because of the expense involved and the fruitless confusion that would

²⁴ W. W. Pierson, Jr., "The Establishment and Early Functioning of the *Intendencia* of Cuba," *James Sprunt Historical Studies*, XIX, No. 2 (Chapel Hill, 1927). Zamora, *op. cit.*, III 597-621.

ensue. As a crowning argument he said that "to trace the 64 tangents that bounded each cattle ranch would take three months and cost 800 *pesos*, and half as much for the hog ranches . . . nor could the plan be carried out in a century because of the disorder of the papers, the contentious spirit, and the bad lawyers that plagued the towns of the Island." As for the *realengos* lying between the ranches that Saavedra proposed to find by the survey and sell for the benefit of the treasury, Valiente thought that they would be "discovered gradually with time." It is scarcely necessary to say that the plan was dropped. We are indebted to it, however, for Valiente's study of the question and for the following description of ranching in Cuba at the close of the eighteenth century:

These *haciendas* [the hog and cattle ranches] have no visible demarkations or boundaries other than some prominent trees, and on one side or the other the sea, a river or a brook, or some other natural mark. In the center there is a house of wood, mud or straw, which is called the seat of the ranch, and usually the hand of man is seen in nothing else. Everything is woods, except some meadows or natural clearings called savannah where the land does not produce trees or underbrush. The animals feed on these clearings, and on the wild fruit that falls from trees, on the leaves of these, and on other-grasses and bushes that grow in the forests. They often mix with the animals from the neighboring *haciendas* to graze and drink; but afterwards return to their own haunts; and all of this shows that on the point of demarkation of boundaries the raisers observe no exactitude, because the low value of the *haciendas* and the expense of fencing or surveying them makes one-fourth of a league more or less of little importance.²⁵

The last decade of the eighteenth century saw the beginning of what might be called the golden age of colonial Cuba. Supported by Captain-General Luis de las Casas and his successors, and by intendants of the type of Valiente and Ramírez, such men as Francisco de Arango y Parreño and Bishop J. José Díaz de Espada were able to do much for the economical and intellectual progress of the island. The year 1793 saw the establishment of the *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País*, and two years later the *consulado* of Ha-

²⁵ Zamora, *op. cit.*, VI, 48-53.

vana became its companion in promoting the development of Cuba. When they began to study the possibilities for improving agriculture they ran afoul of the anomalous system of land-holding. Accordingly, petitions were sent to the superior officers of the island, and forwarded by them to Spain, asking for legislation that would relieve the situation. Out of these petitions came two decrees, one of June 8, 1814, and the other of August 30, 1815, that opened the way for a partial solution of the difficulties. The latter removed restrictions on cutting trees, which had existed from the beginning of the settlement of the island to guarantee a supply of lumber for the royal navy; the former permitted the holders of *mercedes* to devote the land to any purpose they chose and to make the necessary clearings and inclosures. The details of the order of 1814 were worked out in an act of the *junta superior directiva de hacienda* on November 27, 1816. This *junta*, composed of the intendant and the higher officials of the treasury administration, permitted persons who desired to cultivate land to do so, provided they presented their titles within six months. In lieu of titles, prescriptive rights were permissible if proof of possession for one hundred years, or forty in the case of land under cultivation, was presented.²⁶

When this act of the *junta* was agreed upon the intendant presiding was Alejandro Ramírez, who had already made a record for himself by his efforts toward the promotion of agriculture and commerce in Guatemala and Puerto Rico. In those places he had especially emphasized the need of white immigration to develop unused land. On arrival in Cuba he found a number of kindred spirits in the two corporations mentioned above, and together they were soon deep in schemes to develop Cuba commercially and agriculturally. Among the schemes was the promotion of white immigration. For this project they received royal approval on October 21, 1817. Ramírez immediately instructed the subdelegates of the treasury administration to report on the best way to apply the plan. From all points he was assured that the communal holdings had to be broken up before there would be any land for

²⁶ Zamora, *op. cit.*, I, 126-128, and VI, 53-56.

new immigrants. The subdelegate in Sancti-Spíritus summed up the situation as follows:

The liberal grace of the royal *cédula* on development and white population will be illusory, if the lands are not freed. There are now no lands for the natives: all are occupied by the owners of *haciendas* and I am one of them. The great *haciendas* are possessed by heirs or purchasers; but all, without being divided have become transformed into parts, or parts of parts, that are held in common for stock-raising; and none of the proprietors can divide lands, because they are common, nor can they cultivate them, because it is said that cultivation stops stock-raising.²⁷

A perusal of the reports mentioned above reveals that the lawsuits between communal owners of lands and over boundaries had not diminished appreciably. From Puerto Príncipe came the statement that there were then in progress in the courts of that city alone no less than fifty suits.²⁸ In the minutes of the *consulado* the members (with the captain-general presiding) registered a complaint that "denouncing" land under the provisions of the order of 1754 had become a plague. They complained especially about two lawyers in Havana who were making it their business to search out tracts to which the occupants had doubtful or lost titles and institute proceedings. We may add that the intendant Ramírez, who was vice-president of the *consulado*, was present at this session.²⁹

With all the information available the captain-general and the intendant laid the matter before the *audiencia* of Puerto Príncipe for its advisory vote (In many important questions the captains-general and viceroys were required to consult the *audiencias* acting as advisory councils.). After an investigation of the matter by the regent and the *fiscal* (prosecuting attorney) the six judges of this, the highest court in Cuba, recommended the division of the communal holdings by unanimous vote. The city council of Havana, upon being asked for its opinion, gave a similar vote. Such unanimity of opinion, it was stated, was "seldom seen in matters of this

²⁷ This report by José Bruno de Alzón is found in Zamora, *op. cit.*, III, 489. Other reports are on pp. 487-496.

²⁸ Zamora, *op. cit.*, III, 188.

²⁹ A.N.C., Junta de Fomento, libro 172, pp. 124-125.

kind.’’³⁰ The *audiencia*, in accord with the request of the captain-general, prepared a plan (dated April 1, 1819) for carrying the division into effect. This was signed and promulgated by Captain-General José Cienfuegos and the intendant, Alejandro Ramírez, on May 6 of the same year, under the powers granted to them jointly by a royal order of 1818 for the development of the island and the promotion of white immigration.³¹

Under this plan any communal holder who had a share worth as much as twenty *pesos* could provoke a division of the land. Before such a division could be made, however, the boundaries of the whole tract had to be ascertained. To do this the ordinances of Cáceres were to be observed. Once the boundaries of the whole grant were determined, the persons who had supervised this survey were to proceed to mark off the parts that corresponded to the persons who desired to separate from the communal holding, the others being allowed to continue joint occupancy as long as they so desired. Any disputes were to be heard before the ordinary judges of the municipalities, with appeal to the *audiencia*.

In the meantime the representations of Cienfuegos and Ramírez to the king were producing a law of much greater significance. This, which was called a royal resolution, was signed July 16, 1819, and promulgated in Cuba in November of that year. By it the king, to whom the *mercedes* as well as the *realengos* still legally belonged, gave the holders property rights to all *mercedes* granted prior to 1729. Anyone who occupied land but could not show the necessary papers could obtain full ownership if he could show a prescriptive right based on forty years' possession. From that date these owners could sell, rent or otherwise dispose of their holdings. Circular grants were forever forbidden. As to the *realengos*, communal holders, who had been using such lands between or adjacent to their holdings for the required forty years, could claim these tracts in full ownership.

For better or worse millions of acres were donated by this law to persons who had previously enjoyed only a usufruct

³⁰ Zamora, *op. cit.*, 496-497.

³¹ Zamora, *op. cit.*, 500.

right to them. The Spanish historian of Cuba, Jacobo de la Pezuela, was convinced that the results were prejudicial. He said:

Except for the donations to Godoy by Charles IV, history does not record that any Spanish monarch rewarded the outstanding captains and servants of the State with the munificence then lavished on the Cubans by Ferdinand VII. A few residents of Cuba, who had always resided in their peaceful homes, with scarcely an occasion to employ themselves in the service of their country, he suddenly transformed from mere usufructuaries into absolute owners of territories, which if they were worth nothing previously, had begun to have much value, and would be infinitely more valuable as the years passed. The origin of the territorial wealth enjoyed today by many of the principal families of the great Antille dates from this decree. In promulgating it the government only proposed to do away with a great hindrance, and if it had meditated more, examining the matter with more utilitarian views, it would have found greater advantages. It helped only a few when it could with general applause have been useful to many. The occasion for a considerable and progressive increase in the revenues by a small annual payment (*censo*) on uncultivated land was wasted, . . .

But he did confess that,

Anyhow and although with so liberal and prodigious measures such great injuries will result in general to the public interests and only a few individuals will be favored without direct benefit to the rest, the annexed and injurious question of *mercedes*, *realengos* and wild lands, at least had for the island a peaceful ending.³²

In a session of the *consulado* held on September 20, 1820, in honor of Ramírez, a paper was read in which his services to Cuba were summarized. Referring to his efforts to obtain the land legislation just described, the paper said that "it filled the Corporation with the greatest joy because the end of so many litigations was seen."³³ The members of the *consulado* might well have rejoiced, for most of them were ben-

³² Jacobo de la Pezuela, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba* (4 vols., Madrid, 1868-1878), IV, 62-63. Guerra, *op. cit.*, p. 241, says that over 10,000 persons already living on parcels of the *mercedes* might have been converted into property holders instead of the few hundred who actually received the tracts of land.

³³ A.N.C., Junta de Fomento, libro 172, pp. 123-128, and *ibid.*, legajo 112, no. 4729.

eficiaries of the law, but not because land litigations were at an end. It is only necessary to scan through the supplementary laws that followed to see that their rejoicing was premature. We select the following from some additional articles to the regulation of 1819 that were voted by the *audiencia* of Puerto Príncipe on May 8, 1844:

Pending litigation in suits about the division of ranches may not hinder each of the owners from clearing, cultivating and receiving benefit from the part of the land that is necessary for the support of his family and the supply of the city . . . but without the right to demand payment for improvements from the individual to whom the land so improved is finally allotted.³⁴

The court records are even more eloquent in declaring that the *consulado* rejoiced too early. The writer, however, had the fact called more forcibly to his attention while visiting recently in the home of a farmer in the province of Oriente. Upon being asked about the owners of a large tract of practically unused land that stretched away from his small property, the farmer answered that he was one of the co-owners. Further conversation revealed the fact that he was one of the many heirs to a domain as large as a Georgia county, about the division of which no agreement could be reached. Meanwhile the heir in question eked out a bare existence for himself and his family on a few acres that he had managed to purchase outside the estate. Scattered cattle roamed over the heritage.

The royal resolution of July 16, 1819, that gave the holders of *mercedes* absolute ownership of them, also provided for the distribution of the *realengos*. The treasury administrators throughout the island were required to prepare reports on such lands in their districts so that they could be advertised with a view to the increase of cultivation and population. Persons desiring these lands could then apply to the *junta superior directiva de real hacienda* which would determine the "quotas for the moderate *composición* that has to be made." This made possible some of the white colonization schemes that had originally provoked the legislation. Chief

³⁴ Zamora, *op. cit.*, III, 500. Other legislation may be found in Zamora, VI, 57, and Supplement p. 330, and in Joaquín Rodríguez San Pedro, *Legislación ultramarina concordada y anotada* (16 vols., Madrid, 1865-1869), II, 506-510.

among the settlements made was that of Cienfuegos on the beautiful Jagua Bay where a group of French and Spanish Creoles from Louisiana went under the leadership of Colonel Luís de Clouet. Each settler over sixteen years of age received one *caballería* of land and a food allowance was furnished by the government until the first crop could be raised.³⁵ Other groups of whites were settled around Nuevitas, Mariel and other points, but there was no grand rush to occupy the land thrown open. There was too much free land in other parts of the world where slave labor was not such a serious competitor.

In the more than a century that has passed since the said resolution, however, the *realengos* have been slowly filling up either by purchasers or squatters, although many still remain. The slowness of the process must be attributed in part to the uncertainty of the status of many tracts; not even the government officials could always say that a given piece of land was not privately owned, or that part of it did not pertain to one of the still undivided *mercedes*. Surveys and lawyers' fees often cost more than the value of the land, and there still remained the *composición* to be paid.

From time to time the government has taken steps to have the *realengos* occupied and cultivated with a view to "the greater benefit of the state and the development of agriculture." The most interesting move during the colonial period grew out of the Ten-Years' War (1868-1878). To reward loyalty and to encourage others to desert the revolutionary cause, a royal decree of October 27, 1877, provided for the distribution of royal lands to "Ex-soldiers, Volunteers mobilized or who aided in the functions of war, needy residents who had remained faithful to the Government, and revolutionaries and their families who were pardoned."³⁶ Not a great amount of land was occupied under this law but it produced the most famous land dispute in the history of Cuba—*Realengo* 18.

This tract, covering many square miles, lies not many

³⁵ Pezuela, *op. cit.*, IV, 55-62.

³⁶ *Colección de reales órdenes publicadas en la Gaceta de la Habana*, 1877, pp. 291-298.

leagues from the city of Guantánamo in the province of Oriente. Out of the numerous conflicting tales about it one can gather something like the following: Acting under the provisions of the order cited, Captain-General Martínez Campos is said to have promised the persons who had settled on the *realengo* full ownership of the land if they would support Spain and help stop the Ten-Years' War. They are said to have agreed. For some reason no papers were ever prepared giving the promised titles. Years passed, and decades. Cuba became a republic, and in the course of time Mario G. Menocal became its president. During his administration (1913-1921) three companies acquired papers from the government dividing the *realengo* among them. In the two decades that have passed since then these companies have been trying to occupy "their" land. Fences are built and get mysteriously destroyed; surveyors try to run lines which never materialize; detachments of soldiers were sent to encourage the surveyors but determined looking armed men appeared and the surveys ceased. Around Guantánamo one hears of the caciques of the residents of *Realengo* 18, who are said to rule over a kingdom within a republic, with which there is peace as long as there is no attempt to occupy the land. One also hears rumors of caches well stocked with modern arms for the use of thousands of "squatters" who propose to hold the land of their fathers.

Not all such difficulties have grown out of the Ten-Years' War. Recently the writer was introduced to a very peaceful-appearing gentleman who had defied the army to oust him and his followers from their land. Generations ago their ancestors occupied a fertile mountain valley far removed from governmental interference and did not take the trouble to acquire titles. As civilization moved nearer their valley, enterprising persons procured titles. But so far that is all they have. More often such disputes take the form of litigations over prescriptive rights as against paper rights. Other *realengos* are lying idle because they are undesirable, while still others escape occupation because no one cares to make improvements and risk being ousted before a prescriptive right can be acquired or an agreement made with the government for a *composición*.

That *realengos* exist near large centers of population is illustrated by Santa Fé Beach. This tract lies to the west of Havana and almost within sight of the capital. It is low and, therefore, not very desirable for farming. In years past the owners of adjoining tracts allowed their stock to graze on it. In recent years the mania for salt baths has caused the occupation of available beaches near Havana, including Santa Fé. Several real estate dealers tried to prove a right to it or obtain one, but without success. Enterprising persons took time by the forelock and "squatted" on the land, clearing and fencing considerable portions and building houses on them. Later arrivals bought the prescriptive rights of these squatters and applied to the municipality for building permits. Now there is an association of "proprietors" of Santa Fé Beach which is pulling all wires to get a law passed giving the members the ownership of the lots on which they have built houses. Meanwhile, building goes on and Santa Fé promises to become a popular suburban development.

At present an interesting attempt is being made to dispose of all *realengos*. The downfall of President Machado in 1933 opened the way for social as well as political experimenting. Among the multitude of plans to help the poor of the island, that of land distribution kept coming to the front. As was indicated in the beginning of this paper, some radicals went so far as to advocate the confiscation of large estates. A milder suggestion was that the land already owned by the government be distributed and more be purchased for that purpose if necessary. One political group put into its platform a plank calling for the donation of one *caballería* of land to every poor farmer in Cuba.

Nothing came of any of these projects until 1937, when the chief of the army, Colonel Fulgencio Batista, got behind his "Plan Trienal," or "Three-Year Plan." The "Plan Trienal" calls for a comprehensive program for the development of Cuba culturally, socially, and economically. Well in the foreground of the plan is a promise to distribute land to the poor farmers, and in the demonstration in favor of the plan, held in Havana on November 20, 1937, the land distribution part seemed to be uppermost in the minds of those

taking part. Critics sneered, and wits talked of going with paper bags to get their share of land, but on December 17 the promise took the form of a law that is usually referred to as the *Ley de Reivindicación y Reparto de Tierras*.³⁷ By taking a cross-section of this law, and of the regulation for applying it that was prepared a few days later,³⁸ an idea of the proposed plan of land distribution can be obtained.

The lands to be distributed are divided into the following categories: those that the state has at its disposal; those that the state has rented out; those that the state has made the object of concessions; those that are not inscribed under some person's name in the register of property; those that the state may reclaim; those that may be acquired for this purpose by the state; and those that may be donated to the state with this end in view. It is of interest to note that tracts "included in *haciendas comuneras* about which lawsuits are still in progress" are excluded from the list, even though they are not properly inscribed in the register of property. Persons desiring land must apply to the department of agriculture where they are listed and classified according to health, character, and number and kind of dependents. They must be Cuban citizens, either by birth or naturalization, but if they obtain parcels of land and later lose their citizenship they will also lose the land. No one person may receive more than one *caballería* of arable land above that on which the farmhouse and other buildings are to be erected. Recipients must live on their farms for six years, cultivate them with an intention of supporting their families, plant fruit orchards and cultivate them under the direction of the department of agriculture, and submit all disputes about the land to the secretary of treasury. Farms received in the distribution cannot be sold, and may change hands only by inheritance. In default of heirs the land reverts to the state.

Early in April, 1938, the department of agriculture was able to announce that the first *reparto de tierras* had taken place. This was the division of a *realengo* in the neighborhood of the port of Mariel. In the official organ of the depart-

³⁷ *Gaceta oficial de la Republica de Cuba*, December 22, 1937.

³⁸ *Gaceta oficial de la Republica de Cuba*, January 16, 1938.

ment there appeared the following statement concerning the distribution:

Very recently, in the municipal district of Mariel, the first official distribution of lands to rural Cubans has been carried out, not in a precipitate manner, but with due organization and previous study of the conditions of poverty and antecedents of the farmers who would be benefitted by the distribution. With the land these farmers were given the most necessary implements and seeds for the commencement of their work, which might be called redemptive.³⁹

By June another tract was ready near Holguín which is almost at the opposite end of the island from Mariel. Every three or four weeks since has seen another *realengo* surveyed and distributed.⁴⁰ In the distribution, care has been taken to announce that persons already settled on *realengos* will be given preference, and it is interesting to note that a government agent immediately visited *Realengo* 18 with a view to a settlement of the dispute. It has not been reached yet, but there is a possibility that the government will acquire the claims of the companies interested and give the land to those who have long regarded it as theirs.

Will the *realengos* disappear? It is too early yet to say, but after studying the attempts made over a century ago to settle white persons on them, as well as the other plans that have been tried since, one cannot help wondering whether another century may not see still other plans to dispose of *realengos* yet undistributed. After all, there is a great similarity between the attempt of Ramírez and his associates to put small farmers on the *realengos* (with government aid in food, seed and implements) and the *reparto de tierras* under the "Plan Trienal." The chief difference between the earlier plan and that now being tried is the statement of purpose. The former had the benefit of the state as the object in view, while the latter lays emphasis on the benefit to be derived by the recipients of the land.

If the *realengos* are all distributed, will the Cuban government purchase enough land to give every poor man a farm

³⁹ *Revista de agricultura*, April 1938.

⁴⁰ For instance see *El Mundo*, June 1, September 5, and October 1, 1938.

who still wants one? Again it is too early to answer the question, but the *Ley de Reivindicación y Reparto de Tierras* hints that this will be done, and it makes provision for this if the present, or any succeeding administration, is so inclined.

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THE PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES OF THE CUBAN *JUNTA* IN PRECIPITATING THE SPANISH- AMERICAN WAR, 1895-1898

I

The causes for the Spanish-American War have been variously attributed to "Manifest Destiny," economic imperialism, the De Lôme-*Maine* incidents, and "yellow journalism." Besides the factors of military strategy and domestic politics, which have been too little emphasized by American historians, the propaganda activities of the Cuban *Junta* in urging American intervention in the Cuban crisis of 1895-1898 have been almost entirely neglected.¹ It is the purpose of this brief conspectus to show, for a restricted area,² the evident influence of the *Junta* in precipitating the war of 1898 and to suggest the need for a more exhaustive investigation of the subject.

In order to accomplish these objectives, it will be necessary at the beginning to outline the nature, organization, purpose, and principal methods of the agency which launched the Cuban revolt in February, 1895. The *Junta* was the general legation of the Cuban "Republic" abroad. It was first officially appointed in September, 1895, by the Constituent As-

¹ Horatio S. Rubens in a recent volume, *Liberty; the Story of Cuba* (New York, 1932), has written an interesting but romanticized account of the part played by the *Junta* in bringing about American intervention in Cuba. A brief summary of the *Junta's* activities during this period may be found in an article by George W. Auxier, "Middle Western Newspapers and the Spanish-American War, 1895-1898," soon to appear in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

² The material used as the basis of this article was derived primarily from the editorial pages of more than forty Middle Western newspapers. A large number of the *Junta's* propaganda pamphlets in the Hoes Collection at the Library of Congress, contemporary evidence in periodical literature, and the standard government documents were also utilized. In the present summary, however, only typical citations can be made. For a detailed treatment, consult George W. Auxier, "The Cuban Question as Reflected in the Editorial Columns of Middle Western Newspapers, 1895-1898," MSS, in the Ohio State University Library, Columbus, Ohio, 1938, pp. 59-148.

sembly that formed the insurgent government, which at the same time elected Tomás Estrada Palma its president and chief representative with authority to carry on diplomatic relations with other countries. For the last mentioned purpose it set up a "Cuban Legation" in the Raleigh Hotel at Washington, while its general headquarters were located at 120 Front Street in New York City.³

The *Junta* proper was composed chiefly of naturalized Cubans, living particularly in the cities along the Atlantic seaboard from Key West to New York City; whereas its American counterpart, the Cuban League, was made up principally of *bona-fide* American citizens whose pro-Cuban sympathies led them, under the direction of the members of the regular *Junta*, to organize affiliated clubs throughout the United States. These two organizations, working in close cooperation with the American press, had as their two-fold purpose the assistance of the Cubans through material and moral aid, both of which were imperative for insurgent success.⁴

This practical program was evolved by the leaders of the Cuban Revolutionary Party in the belief that their own aims could be achieved only through aid secured from the United States, whose economic, military, political, and humanitarian interests in the Caribbean might, in turn, at least be partially consummated by promoting Cuban freedom. The United States served, therefore, as fertile soil for the production of both material and moral aid. The Mid-West especially, whose imperialism was soon aroused by the events associated with the Cuban revolt, furnished a potentially productive psychological area in which the *Junta's* propaganda agents could cultivate the growth of pro-Cuban sentiment.

So with the patriotic zeal and the realism demanded by the exigencies of the situation, the Cuban *Junta* formulated quite early the methods designed to accomplish its aims. It fitted out filibustering expeditions and raised money to sup-

³ *Encyclopedia Americana* (New York, 1937), XVI, 252.

⁴ Marcus M. Wilkerson, *Public Opinion and the Spanish-American War; A Study in War Propaganda* (Louisiana State University Studies, No. 8, Baton Rouge, 1932), p. 56, *et passim*; Joseph E. Wisan, *The Cuban Crisis as Reflected in the New York Press, 1895-1898* (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, No. 403, New York, 1934), p. 70, *et passim*.

ply the Cuban chieftains in the island with the accoutrements of war. Through "Sympathy Meetings," carnivals, theatrical performances, public addresses, the facilities of a friendly American press, the publication of its own newspaper, and the systematic preparation and distribution of a deluge of propaganda pamphlets, it afforded moral aid, the total results of which contributed materially toward American intervention in April, 1898.

II

The most important of the *Junta's* devices designed to render assistance to the insurgents, and the first to attract wide attention in the United States, was the practice of filibustering. The leadership of these enterprises was originally under the guiding genius of José Martí, who, in January, 1895, had so energetically launched the first of them against Spanish authority in Cuba. Unfortunately, Martí met a premature death in an insular skirmish in May, 1895, but the *Junta's* filibustering activities were subsequently carried on under the able direction of Estrada Palma. The "Cuban Legation," alluded to above, was soon established in Washington, where its Secretary, Gonzalo de Quesada, and its Counsel, Horatio S. Rubens, started a campaign to facilitate the procurement and distribution of aid to the insurgents by gaining for them, among other things, recognition of their belligerency by the United States government.⁵ That the functions of this agency were propagandistic is apparent from the testimony of one of the most active members, who has recently admitted the fact in the following words:

We had in Washington a little war of our own which was to continue for three years, depending moreover on the progress of the real war in Cuba. This war in Cuba, in turn, depended on the war between the American Government incited by Spain, and the Expeditionary Department of the Cuban *Junta*, which had to supply the major war with a steady stream of munition supplies.⁶

General Máximo Gómez, commander-in-chief of the Cuban Army, early and continually emphasized the importance and

⁵ Rubens, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

necessity of promoting filibustering as a means of sustaining the revolutionary movement,⁷ and its power was admitted in the statement of the pro-Spanish ex-mayor of Havana, who, in attempting to discourage such aid, complained that the strength of the insurrection was derived "more than anything else from external aid" secured through such channels.⁸

Organized on American soil, these expeditions violated international law and the neutrality statutes of the United States. Realizing that she could never hope to suppress the Cuban revolt so long as the insurgents received military supplies through such methods, Spain invoked the rules of international comity, complained against the permissive attitude of American officials in condoning the expeditions apprehended, condemned the *Junta* and the American press for encouraging and abetting these unlawful enterprises, and sought, in accordance with her own prerogative, to intercept all suspicious vessels cruising in Cuban waters by maintaining a rigid naval patrol around the island.⁹

The efforts of the Spanish Government to prevent filibustering brought friction with the United States over a number of exasperating incidents. The most notable of these were the *Allianca* affair of March, 1895, and the *Competitor* case of April, 1896. Similar instances of less importance involved the *George W. Childs*, *Lark*, *Commodore*, *James Woodall*, *Laurada*, *Horsa*, *J. W. Hawkins*, *Nepenthe*, *Carry Lane*, *William Todd*, *Bermuda*, and *The Three Friends*.¹⁰ Notwithstanding two neutrality proclamations issued by President

⁷ George Reno, "Operating an 'Underground' Route to Cuba," *Cosmopolitan Magazine* (New York, 1886-1925), XXVII (August, 1899), 431.

⁸ Don Sequendo Álvarez, "The Situation in Cuba," *North American Review* (New York, 1815-), CLXI (September, 1895), 362.

⁹ *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* (Washington, 1864-), 1895, Pt. II, 1193-1201; *ibid.*, 1896, 696, 711, 1209; *ibid.*, 1897, 502; *Harper's Weekly* (New York, 1859-1916), XXIX (September, 1895), 330.

¹⁰ Marquis de Olivart, "Le Différend entre l'Espagne et les Etats-Unis au Sujet de la Question Cubaine," *Revue Générale de Droit International Public* (Paris, 1894-), V (1898), 358-422. M. Olivart compiled a list of thirty-six vessels which made seventy-one expeditions to Cuba between March, 1895, and April, 1898.

Cleveland (June 12, 1895, and July 27, 1896),¹¹ and the efforts of the Treasury Department's Coast Guard cruisers and revenue cutters to forestall the illegal departure of filibusters from American ports, more than sixty expeditions were launched between June 11, 1895, and November 30, 1897, according to a special report prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury.¹² Many others, officially unaccounted for, were made before, between, and after these dates. Although several of them were wrecked and some were driven back to American ports by storms, those that succeeded were sufficiently fruitful to keep the insurrection in the island alive for more than three years against the odds of a vastly superior Spanish army.

The progress of the *Junta's* filibustering activities was also accentuated by the encouragement which in many instances they received from the Federal courts in their disposition of the cases brought before them. In two notable cases, one in Florida and one in Delaware, this was especially apparent.¹³ Editorial reaction to adverse decisions showed that the editors, too, favored the encouragement of filibustering under the circumstances.¹⁴

Political sanction even for material aid through filibustering was sought by the members of the "Cuban Legation" in Washington. Through a certain Lieutenant Rodgers, for example, they were able to meet and gain the ear of such influential figures as Senators Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts and Don Cameron of Pennsylvania.¹⁵ It is doubtful,

¹¹ James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (New York, 1917), XII, 6023-24; *ibid.*, 6126-27.

¹² *House Document No. 326*, 55 Cong. 2 Sess.; Roy E. Curtis, "The Law of Hostile Military Expeditions as Applied by the United States," *American Journal of International Law* (New York, 1907-), VIII (January and April, 1914), 1-33; 224-53.

¹³ Elbert J. Benton, *International Law and the Diplomacy of the Spanish-American War* (Baltimore, 1908), pp. 46-48, 56-57. Dr. Benton has an excellent discussion of the attitude of the courts in his chapter, "American Neutrality, 1895-1897." See also, *Yale Law Journal* (New Haven, Conn., 1892-), V, 283; *Ohio (Columbus) State Journal*, September 25, 1895; *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, September 26, 1896.

¹⁴ *Omaha World-Herald*, October 25, 1895.

¹⁵ Rubens, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

however, whether Lodge was stimulated solely by such contacts to advocate a more vigorous Cuban policy or openly, on that account, to wink at the illegal methods of the *Junta* in securing assistance for the insurgents. His literary efforts on behalf of the Republican party, nevertheless, revealed not only a bitter opposition to Cleveland's neutrality proclamations, but that he was willing enough to further the material solicitations of the *Junta* by flaunting the Federal statutes.¹⁶ In any case, his activities worked to the advantage of the insurrection, and the close relationship between the *Junta's* political efforts and Cameron's Senate resolution, which strongly advocated the recognition of Cuban independence, suggests with what success the Cuban leaders sought to identify their own cause with that of the minority party in Congress.¹⁷

The sympathetic attitude of the American newspapers toward filibustering gave the *Junta* additional encouragement. Said a representative Middle Western paper: "Until notified of a state of war in Cuba or of a blockade we can't be held responsible to Spain for the doings of American citizens, nor can Spain exercise the right to stop our ships and search them even in her own ports."¹⁸ In similar vein, the *Indianapolis Journal* asserted, while protesting Cleveland's warning to filibusters:

[This Government] . . . is not responsible for and, even if it wished, could not prevent the growth of popular sympathy with the insurgents. Spanish rule in Cuba is a political anachronism and a misfit, and neither international law nor international comity can prevent the American people from hoping that the revolution will succeed.¹⁹

¹⁶ Henry Cabot Lodge, "Our Duty to Cuba," *Forum* (New York, 1886-), XXI (May, 1896), 285-86.

¹⁷ *Congressional Record*, 54 Cong. 1 Sess., XXVIII, 25, 1552; Estrada Palma, "Appeal of the Cubans," and "The Real Conditions of Cuba," by Senator Proctor, printed jointly by the *Junta* as a propaganda pamphlet (New York, c. March, 1898), in the Hoes Collection at the Library of Congress.

¹⁸ *Milwaukee Journal*, June 12, 1895.

¹⁹ *Indianapolis Journal*, June 15, 16, 1895. The same spirit was again reflected in an editorial stimulated by a speech made by Palma. (*Ibid.*, September 7, 1895.)

The Administration was further maligned by the *Detroit Journal* for failing to answer the popular demands for action on behalf of the Cubans. This paper also gave encouragement to numerous filibustering expeditions that were successfully launched.²⁰ Typical also of Middle Western editorial opinion, the Cincinnati *Enquirer* opposed the use of American battle-ships for the prevention of their departure,²¹ and the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* even hoped that the Spanish patrol would mistakenly fire on one of them, thereby giving the United States a pretext for forceful intervention in Cuba.²² Anyhow, commented the Minneapolis *Journal*: "The Government knows very well that these expeditions leave the North Atlantic seaports rather than Key West, where a pretended watch is kept for unlawful expeditions."²³ Similar sentiments expressed by other representative newspapers in the Middle West gave their encouragement to the practice of filibustering throughout the course of the insurrection.²⁴

The sympathy of newspaper editors, the permissive attitude of Federal officials, and the favor of American politicians thus indicated that almost every circumstance favored the realization of the *Junta's* objectives. Even "Divine Providence" appeared to have made the necessary arrangements for the successful landing of filibusters in Cuba. A contemporary writer, for example, described the island as a "Guerilla Eden" where:

Nature seems purposefully to have accommodated West India filibusters with . . . observatories, in the form of the numerous small islands

²⁰ *Detroit Journal*, January 14, 1895, September 22, 1897.

²¹ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, July 23 and October 3, 1895.

²² Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, July 27, 1895.

²³ Minneapolis *Journal*, August 23, 1895.

²⁴ Cincinnati *Times-Star*, March 16, 1895; Cleveland *Leader*, April 1, 1895; Detroit *Free Press*, March 17, 1895; Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, March 15, 1895; Indianapolis *Journal*, March 15, 1895; Omaha *Daily Bee*, March 21, 1895; Chicago *Times-Herald*, March 22, 1895; Cincinnati *Enquirer*, April 8, 1895; Ohio (Columbus) *State Journal*, March 16, 1895; Kansas City (Missouri) *Journal*, March 17, 1895; Milwaukee *Journal*, June 12, 1895; St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, September 16, 1895; Minneapolis *Journal*, August 23, 1895; Detroit *Journal*, March 20, 1896; Chicago *Daily Inter Ocean*, May 21, 1896; Minneapolis *Tribune*, May 13, 1896; Chicago *Record*, December 26, 1896.

scattered along the West coast of Cuba, which enables a hidden privateer to watch the movements of the hostile [Spanish] gunboats.²⁵

That the *Junta* took advantage of these natural factors, as well as those mentioned above, has been shown in the numerous accounts since written by participants in these unlawful enterprises.²⁶

No accurate estimate of the amount of money raised in the United States by the *Junta* for the purchase of material supplies has ever been made. At the beginning of the revolt in February, 1895, it was supposed to have had at its disposal a fund of \$1,000,000.²⁷ The editor of a Mid-Western newspaper, as early as March of that year, conjectured that the fund amounted to \$3,000,000,²⁸ which was an approximation of the \$3,210,000 supposedly raised in support of the Ten-Years' War (1868-1878).²⁹ Whatever the amount, most of it resulted from American generosity, and so confident of this did the *Junta* become that eventually it proposed an American bond issue of \$10,000,000 redeemable ten years after Spain had been driven from Cuba. Although this scheme was regarded with official caution,³⁰ it was applauded editorially as offering an opportunity for Americans "to give practical expression of their sympathy"³¹ and cited by the *Junta* as further proof that its provisional government was worthy of *de jure* recognition.³² One of the most active Cubans engaged in soliciting funds for the *Junta* has recently stated that Richard Croker,

²⁵ Felix Oswald, "A Guerilla Eden," *North American Review* (New York, 1815-), CLXII (March, 1896), 380-89.

²⁶ Emory W. Fenn, "Ten Months with the Insurgents," *Century Magazine* (New York, 1870-), XXXIV (June, 1898), 302-07; Harold Bindloss, "A Cuban Filibuster," *Macmillan's Magazine* (London, 1859-1907), LXXVII (July, 1897), 143-49.

²⁷ For the sources of the *Junta's* funds see Horatio S. Rubens, "The Insurgent Government in Cuba," *North American Review* (New York, 1815-), CLXXVI (May, 1898), 560-69.

²⁸ *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, March 20, 1895.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, January 1, 4, 1897.

³⁰ *Senate Document No. 885*, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., 519-34. (Testimony of Benjamin J. Guerra, Treasurer of the *Junta*, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, April 8, 1898.)

³¹ *Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 17, 1896.

³² *Indianapolis Journal*, April 17, 1896.

then sachem of Tammany Hall, gave the *Junta* \$30,000 on one occasion from surplus campaign funds, "for the sick and starving Cubans".³³ This gift was undoubtedly an exceptional donation and the bond issue proved disappointing in its results, but the money collected for the support of the insurrection in the United States must have amounted to several millions of dollars. It is evident, moreover, that the main funds of the *Junta* were largely realized through the numerous small contributions solicited by its agents through the Cuban Leagues and its own membership.³⁴

III

Success in soliciting funds and promoting filibustering naturally depended upon arousing the sympathy of the American people. Financial aid and moral support, therefore, became inextricably interwoven with the numerous propaganda activities of the *Junta* from the outset of the insurrectionary movement in Cuba. Almost immediately after the rebellion was initiated the *Junta* organized its operations so as to give every possible opportunity for tangible expression of sympathy on the part of American citizens.³⁵ The facilities of the American press, as we have noted, were already at its disposal and, for conveying further assistance, a second vehicle was adopted in the device of rabble-rousing "Sympathy Meetings," which occasionally took the form of Cuban carnivals or fairs. The technique was simple, yet psychologically sound: the stimulation of humanitarianism, with the expected response of American support of the Cuban rebels or eventual intervention on their behalf. The following prospectus of a typical "Cuban-American Fair" held at Madison Square Garden in May, 1896, adequately illustrates the manner in which the *Junta* hoped to effect its objectives:

³³ Rubens, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

³⁴ Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, December 16, 20, 22, 1896.

³⁵ Chicago *Daily Inter Ocean*, June 9, 1897.

"CUBA APPRECIATES SYMPATHY—SHE MUST HAVE ASSISTANCE."

PROSPECTUS.

GRAND CUBAN-AMERICAN FAIR

— TO BE HELD AT —

Madison Square Garden May 25 to 30 (Inclusive) 1896

AUTHORIZED BY THE CUBAN DELEGATION.

ALFRED CHASSEAUD, GENERAL MANAGER, MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK.

OFFICE OF FAIR COMMITTEE:

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY.

FIDEL G. PIERRA,	CHAIRMAN	EMILIO DEL CASTILLO,	} SECRETARIES
JOSE A. GUTIERREZ,	TREASURER	RAFAEL NAVARRO,	

◆*PROSPECTUS.*◆

It is proposed by the friends of Cuba in the United States in a practical and effective manner to attest the sympathy that has so long been privately and publicly voiced through the medium of a great fair, national in its scope, to be held for one week, May 25th to 30th, 1896, at the Madison Square Garden, New York City.

The project has the official sanction and hearty co-operation of the Cuban Delegation. That this undertaking may be a success is the earnest wish of every sympathizer with the Cause of Cuba Libre; it has the prayers of fighting Cubans and the blessings of those who are dear to them.

The great Cuban-American Fair will present to every well-wisher that Cuba has in the United States or in the sister republic of Mexico the initial opportunity to do something that will actually help to raise the Spanish yoke from Cuba's neck and make her forever free.

The motto of those who have undertaken the huge but welcome task of carrying the Cuban-American Fair through to a monumental and unprecedented success is: "Cuba appreciates sympathy—she must have assistance." Therein is crystallized all the thought and thus is formulated in an effective outlet the many spoken and written good wishes and desultory effort of all of Cuba's friends.

The Fair will voice the gratitude of an oppressed and struggling people for the kindly feeling manifested by a neighboring nation while it makes known their greatest need and shows a way to aid.

Photostatic reproduction of one of the Junta's handbills announcing a Cuban-American Fair. Front and reverse views appear in order.³⁰

The more frequently held "Sympathy Meetings" were promoted at opportune moments—usually just before Congress convened in December—in the most important cities throughout the United States. Middle Western newspapers gave unstintingly of their space and support to such assemblies at Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, New York City, Cincinnati, Columbus, Detroit, and elsewhere. These gatherings were addressed usually by prominent local personages, or the

³⁰ The original of this document was found inside one of the Junta's propaganda pamphlets in the Hoes Collection at the Library of Congress. Internal evidence indicates that the pamphlet at one time belonged to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge.

local officers of the Cuban League, and invariably by the ubiquitous members of the *Junta*, whose itineraries are indelibly recorded on the pages of the metropolitan journals of the cities in which they made their appearance.

The first of these meetings in the Middle West, held at Chicago October 1, 1895, led the *Chicago Tribune* to urge other cities to "follow the example and roll up to Washington a tide of public opinion that shall sweep the sluggish men in the seats of Congress toward [Cuban] liberty."³⁷ And, when Philadelphia emulated the precedent set at Chicago by holding, in November of that year, an impressive pro-Cuban assembly at the Academy of Music, the *Tribune* had ample reason to applaud.³⁸

The Philadelphia gathering, arranged by the local unit of the *Junta*, sent resolutions favoring the recognition of the "Republic" of Cuba to President Cleveland and both houses of Congress, they having been signed by an imposing array of committeemen, among whom was included no less a personage than John Russell Young, the Librarian of Congress. At the meeting, also, speeches sympathetic to Cuba were made by members of the Washington "Legation," and civic leaders of Philadelphia. Governor Claude Mathews of Indiana was invited to give his views of the Cuban situation in the principal address. Reported at full length in the *Philadelphia Times*³⁹ and reprinted later by the *Junta* as a propaganda pamphlet,⁴⁰ the Governor's speech was typical of Cuban feeling manifested by American sympathizers elsewhere. In tones of appealing oratory Mathews urged response to the plight of the downtrodden Cubans and warned this government against indifference and inaction in delivering Cuba from her oppressor. Regardless of the official duty of the

³⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, October 1, 1895. For further editorial comment see: *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, September 27, 1895; *Chicago Daily Inter Ocean*, September 30, 1895; *Ohio (Columbus) State Journal*, October 2, 1895; *Nebraska (Lincoln) State Journal*, November 2, 1895; *Milwaukee Journal*, October 1, 1895.

³⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, November 6, 1895.

³⁹ *Philadelphia Times*, November 22, 1895.

⁴⁰ Claude Mathews, "The Cuban Cause is Just; The Right Shall Prevail, and in God's Own Time Cuba Shall Be Free" (*Pamphlet*, Philadelphia, 1895), in Hoes Collection at the Library of Congress.

United States to observe the obligations of international law, he insisted that Americans as individuals might lend moral encouragement by "spanning the dividing waters with hopeful, generous sympathy and bid godspeed to the Cuban patriot in his sublime hope and holy ambition." "For," said the speaker, "his cause is just, the right shall prevail, and in God's own time Cuba will be free."⁴¹ The citizens of the "city of brotherly love" were thereupon given an opportunity to please the Lord and assist the Cuban's "holy ambition" by contributing to the *Junta's* revolutionary funds.⁴²

A few days later the same members of the Cuban *Junta* conducted a meeting of like import in Cleveland,⁴³ while Charles A. Dana, editor of the *New York Sun*, presided over another at Cooper Union in New York City.⁴⁴ During October, 1896, Secretary Gonzalo de Quesada, General Carlos Rolloff, and Dr. Henry Lincoln Zayas of the *Junta*, appealed for aid at a "Cuban Carnival" held at Music Hall in Cincinnati. Reporting the results of this demonstration editorially, the Cincinnati *Commercial Tribune* asked:

Can anyone wonder that the sympathies of the people whose independence was achieved under similar conditions should go out to those who are fighting for their freedom? Can anyone wonder that Dr. Henry Lincoln Zayas thrilled his audience as he told the story of Cuban wrongs and outrages? . . . Civilization will yet act on behalf of the downtrodden in . . . Cuba.⁴⁵

In December of the same year "Cuban exiles" appealed to the people of Cleveland at another huge mass meeting,⁴⁶ and shortly thereafter such an assembly at Franklin, Indiana, was reported with favorable comment in the Indianapolis papers.⁴⁷ At Columbus in January, 1897, the local chapter of

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-16. Cf. this statement with the closing sentence of an article by J. Frank Clark, "Cuba's Struggle for Freedom," *Cosmopolitan Magazine* (New York, 1886-1925), XIX (October, 1895), 616.

⁴² Rubens, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁴³ Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, November 3, 1895.

⁴⁴ Detroit *Journal*, November 29, 1895.

⁴⁵ Cincinnati *Commercial Tribune*, October 6, 1895; Cincinnati *Times-Star*, October 6, 1895.

⁴⁶ Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, December 2, 1896.

⁴⁷ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, December 17, 1896.

the Cuban League, which counted among its membership more than one thousand leading citizens of Ohio's capital, held under its auspices, at the Board of Trade Auditorium, one of the most interesting of the Cuban "Sympathy Meetings" convened in the Middle West. The local secretary, State Librarian Charles B. Galbreath, reported a successful assembly at which pro-Cuban speeches and prayers were delivered from a platform bedecked with American and Cuban flags and in the enthusiasm inspired through patriotic music rendered by the Fourteenth Regiment Band of the Ohio National Guard. Fidel G. Pierra spoke on behalf of the *Junta*, and a Colonel James Kilgourne, local president of the Cuban League, explained the combined objectives of these two organizations as designed:

. . . to secure for Cuba by all lawful, peaceful and honorable means, the political independence which her patriots are now endeavoring through tremendous sacrifice of treasure and life to gain; to encourage them with our sympathy and moral support; and to arouse the whole nation to demand the end of the campaign of devastation and murder in that island.

Other speakers for the occasion outlined specific methods for carrying out these purposes and the "sympathy and moral support" of the congregation was extended to the *Junta* in the following telegram which Secretary Galbreath dispatched to T. Estrada Palma, Delegate of the Republic of Cuba:

A public meeting representing the business, labor, religious and political interests of this city sends you greetings. May the merciful Father of all prosper the cause of liberty on your beautiful island. Long live the Republic of Cuba!⁴⁸

Besides the numerous "Sympathy Meetings" in the Middle West⁴⁹ there is evidence in the amusement columns of many papers to show that the *Junta* also expanded its propaganda activities to include the stage as well as the platform. Hueck's theatre in Cincinnati, for example, advertised on one occasion a play, "Cuba's Vow," which was described as "The Great

⁴⁸ Columbus *Evening Dispatch*, January 26, 1897.

⁴⁹ Detroit *Journal*, February 19, March 21, and April 7, 1898.

Cuban War Play; A Story of Spain's Cruel Oppression of Cuba's Loyal Patriots."⁵⁰

But the insurgents received even greater sympathy through the *Junta's* exploitation of American newspaper facilities than they did from the "Sympathy Meetings" or the theatrical performances mentioned above. The normal methods of collecting news concerning events in Cuba had been thwarted by an irritating Spanish censorship of press reports leaving the island, and the problem of gathering Cuban information played directly into the hands of the opportunistic *Junta*. Reporters for the New York papers, for instance, were encouraged to call each day at the *Junta's* headquarters, where they received *gratis* the "news" of the latest developments of the revolution. In Washington, the "Cuban Legation" performed a similar function for the papers of that city. Here newspaper correspondents besieged the *Junta's* quarters at the Raleigh Hotel for written matter about Cuba. "Demands for facts, historical references and news from the front poured in on Quesada. Day and night 'The Cuban Legation' at Washington worked." And, "wherever they could, Cubans encouraged the continuous spread of [pro-Cuban] feeling . . .," a participant in this new literature of propaganda recently admitted in explaining the source of Cuban war news.⁵¹

With the facilities of American newspapers at its disposal, the *Junta* formulated a very systematic propaganda program. It proceeded to develop a theme of Cuban success, attempted to create a corresponding belief in Spanish failure, and ex-

⁵⁰ Cincinnati *Commercial Tribune*, April 8, 1898, 10. The *Junta* also received much moral support from the following plays that were written and produced in the United States during the course of the Cuban insurrection: G. A. Kastelic, "Cuba Libre" (Chicago, 1895); James A. MacKnight, "Cuba Free" (New York, 1896); R. G. Taber, "A Cuban Rebel" (Greatkills, New York, 1895); Frederick H. De Candales, "Cuban Heroes" (Chicago, 1896); Henry J. Pain, "Cuba" (New York, 1896); James W. Harkness, Jr., "Cuba" (New York, 1896); George Reno, "Cuba" (New York, 1896); Ellen Chazel Chapeau, "Cuba" (Savannah, 1897); Charles W. Ressel, "Cuba Libre" (United States, 1897); James F. Milliken, "The Cuban Patriot" (New York, 1897); Petrino B. Mattia, "Cuba Libre" (Newark, New Jersey, 1897).

⁵¹ Rubens, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-08, 202-09.

ploited American humanitarian sentiments through the circulation of atrocity stories.

The arguments advanced in support of the success theme were almost legion.⁵² Upon the testimony of the *Junta*, Cuban victories over vastly superior Spanish forces were exaggerated;⁵³ American confidence in rebel strength was developed by eulogizing the abilities and exploits of the Cuban generals Máximo Gómez, Antonio Maceo, and Calixto García;⁵⁴ while every effort was made to prove the existence and stability of the de facto government in Cuba.⁵⁵ Secretary Gonzalo de Quesada of the New York *Junta*, President J. V. Fuentes of the Cuban League in Boston, and a "Cuban Merchant" at Philadelphia, for instance, were quoted by representative Middle Western newspapers as predicting, on similar grounds, a Cuban victory.⁵⁶ Contemporary magazine writers joined the newspaper editors by adding the arguments of climate, time, and justice.⁵⁷ The *Junta*, in its press releases, called special attention to Spanish "incompetence" as voiced by Hannis Taylor, Cleveland's ex-minister to Madrid, in the *North American Review*.⁵⁸

In creating a belief in Spanish defeat, no opportunity was

⁵² Minneapolis *Journal*, February 27, 1895; Cincinnati *Times-Star*, March 15, 1895; Saint Louis *Republic*, March 7, 1895; Milwaukee *Journal*, March 1, 1895; Kansas City (Missouri) *Journal*, February 24-March 16, 1895; Cleveland *Leader*, March 15, 1895; Columbus *Evening Dispatch*, February 26, 1895; Chicago *Times-Herald*, March 22, 1895; Sioux City *Journal*, September 1, 1895; Saint Paul *Pioneer Press*, December 25, 1895.

⁵³ Chicago *Record*, October 5, December 6, 1896; January 16, 29, 1897; Milwaukee *Journal*, November 7, 1896; Indianapolis *Sentinel*, April 6, 1896.

⁵⁴ For the pronouncements of Gómez see: Detroit *Journal*, December 10, 1895; January 11, February 15, 1897; Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, April 14, 1895, January 5, June 25, 1896, February 12, 1897; Columbus *Evening Dispatch*, December 26, 1895; Cincinnati *Enquirer*, January 21, 1896; Detroit *Free Press*, July 19, 1896; Omaha *World-Herald*, December 6, 1896. For Maceo's statements see: Sioux City *Journal*, December 13, 1896; Chicago *Record*, December 10, 1896, December 11, 1897; Ohio (Columbus) *State Journal*, December 16, 1896. For the observations of García see: Louisville *Courier-Journal*, March 24, 1898; Chicago *Daily Inter Ocean*, December 26, 1895.

⁵⁵ Milwaukee *Sentinel*, April 17, 1896.

⁵⁶ Kansas City (Missouri) *Journal*, May 3, 1895; Detroit *Journal*, October 8, 1895; Cincinnati *Times-Star*, August 5, 1895.

⁵⁷ Detroit *Journal*, April 12, 1897; J. Frank Clark, *op. cit.*, 607.

⁵⁸ Hannis Taylor, "A Review of the Cuban Question," *North American Review* (New York, 1815-), XLXV (November, 1897), 610-35.

lost to depict the inevitability of Spanish failure both at home and abroad. Efforts were made to strengthen the latter contention through the testimony of the Cuban generals who belittled the competence and exaggerated the failures of the Spanish captains-general, Martínez Campos, Valeriano Weyler, and Ramón Blanco; while, to make the former more apparent, the *Junta* emphasized the threat of the ultimate collapse of Spain on the Peninsula because of internal disintegration, political and economic.⁵⁹ Magazine articles, the testimony of important personages in Europe, the opinion of American writers, reports of "Cuban backfire" in Spain, the defeat of the Carlists in national elections, historical precedent, and Spanish corruption were all cited to prove the contention.⁶⁰ Spain was described as the "sick man of Europe" who was dying from the senility of a "querulous old age,"⁶¹ and an editorial, "Spain's Weakness Our Opportunity,"⁶² revealed to what extent the American press rejoiced in that weakness and suggests how perfectly the sentiment coincided with the objectives of the *Junta*. The internal collapse of Spain was prophesied during the "Ides of March" by one editorial which interestingly enough appeared on the same day that the notorious De Lôme letter was released to the American newspapers by the agents of the *Junta*.⁶³ The more realistic symphony of arguments predicting Spanish

⁵⁹ *Detroit Free Press*, April 3, 1896; *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*, May 2, 1897; January 28, 1898; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, September 12, 1896; *Chicago Record*, September 30, 1896; *Kansas City (Missouri) Journal*, August 2, 1896; *Chicago Tribune*, November 4, 1897; *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, January 28, 1896, October 28, 1897; *Chicago Daily Inter Ocean*, January 11, 1896; *Sioux City Journal*, November 18, 1895; *Nebraska (Lincoln) State Journal*, May 30, 1895; *Indianapolis Journal*, January 19, 1896; *Cincinnati Times-Star*, February 29, 1896; *Cleveland Leader*, May 12, 1896; *Milwaukee Journal*, November 24, 1896; *Detroit Journal*, May 11, 1897.

⁶⁰ *Nebraska (Lincoln) State Journal*, November 15, 1895; *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*, December 14, 1895; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, August 7, December 30, 1896; *Milwaukee Journal*, September 21, 1896.

⁶¹ *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, July 13, 1897. See also: John Foreman, "A Glance at Spain", *National Review* (London, 1883-), XXIX (April, 1897), 238-42; John Foreman, "Europe's New Invalid", *ibid.*, XXIX (July, 1897), 721-34.

⁶² *Chicago Times-Herald*, November 22, 1897.

⁶³ *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*, February 9, 1898.

defeat, however, was brought to a *grand finale* by strumming the strings of "Spanish bankruptcy."⁶⁴

Through the vehicle of the American press the Cuban Revolutionary Party received moral sympathy, also, from the circulation of Spanish atrocity stories. The methods of warfare employed by the insurgents were undoubtedly as uncivilized as those used by the Spanish troops, yet the *Junta* exploited the natural disposition of the American editors to believe otherwise. A number of the stories of Spanish brutality were unquestionably originated by Cuban correspondents of American newspapers, such, for example, as the well-known "Evangeline Cisneros" case.⁶⁵ It is not difficult, nevertheless, to trace the source of many of them to the hand of Estrada Palma and the members of the Cuban *Junta*, who, until war was declared in April, 1898, received the coöperation of the editors in depicting Spanish barbarities through editorial, cartoon, and verse.⁶⁶

The *Junta*, however, had other means for arousing sympathy for the insurgent cause. It had on the island a number of newspapers through which insurgent propaganda was distributed.⁶⁷ This reached the United States chiefly through *La Patria*, which was published in New York (1892-1898) and translations of which were circulated along the Atlantic seaboard, from whence its accounts of the progress of the revolt were dispatched to American editors in the hinterland. But more important, the *Junta* effected its purposes through a campaign of propaganda-pamphleteering that did not subside until its mission had been fulfilled. Some of these were written by members of the *Junta* in the United States or abroad.

⁶⁴ Minneapolis *Journal*, July 22, 1895; Cincinnati *Times-Star*, August 29, 1895; Indianapolis *Journal*, December 26, 1896; Detroit *Free Press*, March 16, 1897.

⁶⁵ Omaha *Daily Bee*, December 14, 1896, February 19, 1897; Chicago *Record*, April 14, 1896; Detroit *Journal*, March 13, 1896, May 17, 1897.

⁶⁶ Chicago *Times-Herald*, April 20, 1895; Columbus *Evening Dispatch*, November 22, 1895, December 14, 15, 1896; January 20, March 25, 1898; Kansas City (Missouri) *Times*, December 27, 1896; Cincinnati *Enquirer*, February 26, 1896; Saint Louis *Republic*, December 2, 1896; Chicago *Daily Inter Ocean*, April 29, 1896.

⁶⁷ Thomas W. Steep, "Cuban Insurgent Newspapers," *National Magazine* (Boston, 1894-), VIII (May, 1898), 147-50.

Others were adaptations of the writings of sympathetic Americans or consisted of pro-Cuban speeches by Cuban or American leaders, or pro-Cuban articles by American authors.⁶⁸ All of these items were circulated as propaganda pamphlets by the Junta and many of them were quoted in Middle Western newspapers.⁶⁹

IV

The problem of evaluating the influence of the *Junta* in precipitating the Spanish-American War is a difficult one. In addition to the evidence of its influence from the foregoing data, the *Junta* was directly responsible for exposing the notorious De Lôme letter of February 9, 1898, and, by some, it was accused of complicity in the tragic and mysterious destruction of the *Maine* in Havana harbor six days later.⁷⁰ It openly opposed McKinley's attempt, through charitable intervention, to relieve the civilian population of Cuba during the Spring of 1898, because such action threatened to remove one of the chief grounds for insisting on American intervention. It informed him, also, just before war was declared,

⁶⁸ The following pamphlets, in the Hoes Collection at the Library of Congress, are typical illustrations of the propaganda activities of the *Junta*: Juan Guiteras, "The United States and Cuba" (*Pamphlet*, Philadelphia, 1895); Enrique José Varona, "Cuba Vs. Spain; Manifesto of the Cuban Revolutionary Party to the People of the United States of America" (*Pamphlet*, n.p., 1895); Fidel G. Pierra, "Facts About Cuba" (*Pamphlet*, n.p., 1895); "Cuba and the United States; Some Pertinent Facts Concerning the Struggle for Independence" (*Pamphlet*, Atlanta, 1897); "The Cuban Question in Its True Light" by "An American" (*Pamphlet*, New York, 1895); "The Revolution in Cuba" (n.p., c. 1896); "Cuban Revolution de 1895-1898" (Habana, 1898); Charles Henry Butler, "The Voice of the Nations" (*Pamphlet*, in *Cuba Must Be Free Series*, New York, 1898); "Address of Tomás Estrada Palma to the American People" (*Pamphlet*, n.p., c. February, 1897); Senator J. H. Gallinger, "For Cuban Independence" (*Leaflet*, n.p., c. 1896); Senator John T. Morgan, "Belligerent Rights for Cuba" (*Pamphlet*, Washington, D. C., 1897); W. D. Washburn, Jr., "Cuba and Spain; Our Plain Duty" (*Pamphlet*, Minneapolis, February, 1898); Clarence King, "Shall Cuba Be Free?" reprinted from *Forum* (New York, 1886-), XX (September, 1895), 50-65.

⁶⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, December 17, 1895; *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*, December 17, 1895.

⁷⁰ Rollo Ogden, "The De Lôme Letter," *Nation* (New York, 1865-), LXVI (February 17, 1898), 122; Rubens, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-92; *Kansas City (Missouri) Journal*, February 10, 1898; *Omaha Daily Bee*, February 10, 1898; *Cleveland Leader*, February 11, 13, 1898; *Detroit Free Press*, February 12, 1898; *Milwaukee Journal*, 10, 1898; Auxier, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-68.

that the Cuban Revolutionary Party would accept neither the proposed plan of autonomy nor any other solution of the Cuban question short of complete independence from Spanish authority.⁷¹ Although the beet-sugar industry in the United States was probably the force back of it, the *Junta* claimed credit for the Teller Resolution which promised that Cuban independence would follow American intervention.⁷²

Be this as it may, it cannot be doubted that the activities of the *Junta* here outlined stimulated the growth of sentiment in favor of the insurrectionary movement in Cuba and that by so doing they contributed toward the evolution of the policy that was later pursued by the United States on the Cuban question. The evidence here presented suggests, also, the need for a more comprehensive investigation into the relationship between the propaganda activities of the *Junta* and the causes for the Spanish-American War. There were, however, at least three other factors which, combined with the propaganda of the Cuban *Junta*, seem finally to have led to American intervention in the Cuban crisis. These were the basic interests of the United States in the Caribbean, Spanish violations of these interests, and the implications of the Cuban question in American politics.⁷³

The alert *Junta* recognized and took advantage of all these forces. That it appreciated the American response to its own propaganda efforts is shown in the following telegram which, as early as 1895, Estrada Palma sent to a Middle Western editor:

⁷¹ Milwaukee *Sentinel*, April 21, 1898. For the *Junta's* opposition to autonomy see: Louisville *Courier-Journal*, June 4, 1897; Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, November 28, 1897; Chicago *Times-Herald*, May 17, 1897; Saint Paul *Pioneer Press*, October 27, 1897; Indianapolis *Journal*, September 22, 1897.

⁷² The relation of the beet sugar interests in the Middle West to the Teller Resolution is suggested by the comment of the following papers while the Teller Resolution was under consideration in 1898, and while the Cuban Reciprocity Treaty was being discussed during 1901-1902: Sioux City *Journal*, April 14, 20, 1898; Saint Paul *Dispatch*, March 29, 1898; Milwaukee *Sentinel*, April 17, 1898; Louisville *Courier-Journal*, September 20, December 19, 1901; Indianapolis *Journal*, January 28, 1902; Nebraska (Lincoln) *State Journal*, May 25, 1902; Detroit *Free Press*, October 22, 1901. For the *Junta's* claims see: Rubens, *op. cit.*, pp. 341-42.

⁷³ Auxier, *op. cit.*, and article cited in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

We congratulate you and the people of the West for the noble stand you have taken, and we sincerely hope that your efforts on our behalf will be fruitful, as the cause of Cuba is the cause of freedom. No wonder that it should excite the universal sympathy of liberty-loving Americans.⁷⁴

The fruits of the *Junta's* propaganda which followed later, in financial contributions, recruits, liberal interpretations of our neutrality laws, the establishment of a sentiment in Congress favoring the recognition of Cuban belligerency, and finally in armed American intervention, all showed that the *Junta* had indeed done its job well; perhaps too well to suit the interests of the insurgents, who so bitterly opposed the intervention resolution of April 21, 1898, because it failed to recognize the existence of their provisional government.⁷⁵

GEORGE W. AUXIER.

Library of Congress.

⁷⁴ Cincinnati *Commercial Tribune*, December 15, 1895.

⁷⁵ Milwaukee *Sentinel*, April 21, 1898; Chicago *Daily Inter Ocean*, April 7, 1898; Cleveland *Leader*, April 7, 1898; Columbus *Evening Dispatch*, April 7, 1898.

DOCUMENTS

CORONADO'S FIRST REPORT ON THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW GALICIA

As the fourth centenary of the pioneer expedition of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado into a wide area of the American Southwest approaches, it is to be hoped that publication in his honor will include new documentary materials as well as fresh investigations of his route, and reëvaluations of the man and his effort in the light of long available evidence.¹ The document printed below has been re-

¹ The best collection of Coronado material is in George Parker Winship's *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*, in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, D. C., 1896). A more recent edition with additional notes and an introduction, summing up later scholarship by Frederick Webb Hodge, was published by the Grabhorn Press in a limited edition (San Francisco, 1933). An authoritative account of the bibliography is contained in H. R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794* (2 vols., The Quivira Society, Albuquerque, 1937), I, 105-115. Frederick W. Hodge in the *History of Hawikuk New Mexico one of the so-called cities of Cibola* (Los Angeles, F. W. Hodge Anniversary Fund, 1937), analyzes most of the recent scholarship on the preliminaries of Coronado's expedition and its progress to and relationship with the pueblo of Hawikuk. Carl Sauer in his "Road to Cibola" (*Ibero-Americana*, 3, Berkeley, California, 1932), has reëxamined the work of older scholars; Bandelier, Lowery, Bancroft, and others; as well as the more recent writers, and presents many new points of view on the basis of field work and a study of the documents, with respect to writers and chronology. His article, "The Discovery of New Mexico Reconsidered," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XII, 270-287, quotes new Coronado material to support the thesis that Fray Marcos de Niza only reached northern Sonora on his expedition. Baltasar Obregón, *Obregón's History of 16th Century Explorations in Western America entitled Chronicle, Commentary or Relation of the Ancient and Modern Discoveries in New Spain and New Mexico, 1584*. Trans. and ed. and annotated by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (Los Angeles, 1928), offers an account of Coronado's expedition written some forty years after the event. A. S. Aiton and Agapito Rey translated and edited "Coronado's Testimony in the Viceroy Mendoza Residencia [sic]," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XII, 288-329. David Donoghue in "The Route of the Coronado Expedition," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXII, 181-193, and other articles, has advocated a route that keeps Coronado within the confines of Texas. It has not been widely accepted. Paul Jones in what is otherwise a sprightly, popular work, *Coronado and Quivira* (Lyons, Kansas, 1937), offers some new material on Coronado's family, later career, and place of burial. Cf. also on his family, Alberto and Arturo García Carraffa, *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos Españoles y Americanos*, XXV, 117-178.

ferred to by the editor² but appears here in print for the first time. It constitutes an important addition to the slender list of known documents that Coronado personally composed and signed. While it makes no contribution to our knowledge of his expedition, it throws light on the period just prior to its assembly and reveals the conditions prevailing in the region of New Galicia where his force gathered and from which it departed on the northern march. More especially it is interesting as Coronado's report of his activities on his first major assignment, when he was being groomed for the possible command of a projected great new *conquista*, in the event that the viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, did not lead the army in person. Coronado up to this time had held minor posts: inspector of mines, inspector of roads, *regidor* in the *cabildo* of Mexico City after his arrival in New Spain in 1535, with the viceroy. As the maiden effort of a young official the document is valuable as a measure of his capacity as a frontier ruler, of his ability to see problems, cope with immediate situations, and suggest remedies. In view of the later Mixton War and Coronado's subsequent trial and dismissal as governor, the report is significant beyond the time it describes, as it reveals the underlying causes of that Indian uprising, and the very abuses, uncovered, that were laid at the door of Coronado in 1544 to his undoing.³

It must be confessed that this relation by Coronado adds little if anything to his reputation as an energetic and resourceful officer of the Crown. It is an honest, straightforward description of the obvious deficiencies of the administration of a recently conquered region. Its author shows no unusual grasp of underlying causes, applies superficial routine remedies and displays a lack of initiative in the matter of levying the tributes despite recognition for its need and the backing of a royal *provisión* to do so. Much of this can be explained or excused on the basis of youth, inexperience, and a natural desire to do nothing rash enough to spoil his chances for advancement by incurring the displeasure of either the Crown or his patron, the viceroy.

The document clearly establishes the fact that Coronado not only went to New Galicia as a judge of residence, but that he also was

² A. S. Aiton, "The Later Career of Coronado," *American Historical Review*, XXX, 299-305.

³ Carta, Luis de Tejada, de Mexico XI de Março de 1545. (A.G.I. 58-5-8. Old classification. Legajo 68 audiencia de Mexico, New Classification) and the papers of the Coronado *residencia* in A.G.I. 48-3-3/30, Residencia que el Lic.do Lorenzo de Tejada oydor de la audiencia Real de Nueva Espana, tomo a Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, gobernador q̄ fue de la Nueva Galicia y su theniente Cristobal de Onate.

appointed its governor as early as 1538, contained in the statement that "La provision por que vra mag. Me manda venir al cargo desta governaçion no trae señalado salario. . . ."⁴ The traditional date for the death of Governor Diego Pérez de la Torre, 1539, is likewise moved back to 1538, as he was dead when Coronado reached New Galicia, some time before he drew up this report on December 15, 1538.⁵ Clear evidence is likewise furnished of the discovery of considerable gold mines as early as 1535, and the name of one, Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, is supplied by Coronado. Compostela is pictured as having only ten houses, San Miguel de Culiacán, faced by an Indian revolt, was on the point of being abandoned and was saved with difficulty. Throughout the area of the province the majority of the natives were at war with the Spaniards, and few had been converted. In Guadalajara he could find no officials or substitute officials to bring to trial, and had been forced to appoint *alcaldes* and *regidores*. In all, he gives a picture of great confusion into which he managed to introduce some semblance of order and reform. That the task was not completed when he marched away in February, 1540, is demonstrated by the great Mixton War which flared up during his absence and by the revelation of conditions under his later government con-

⁴ H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, II, 465, collates the authorities on Coronado's appointment as governor of New Galicia. He finds that Antonio de Herrera is wrong in inferring that de la Torre's death was not known in Mexico City when Coronado was appointed governor by the Crown (footnote 29). He cites, in proof of this point, the confirmation of Coronado's appointment as provisional governor by royal *cédula* of April 18, 1539. The document printed below would seem to confirm the accuracy of Herrera's statement.

⁵ The document in the statement " . . . y quando llegue a esta governaçion halle muerto al licenciado de la torre a quien vra mag. me manda tomar residencia en la villa de guadalajara desta provincia a donde el licenciado resedio y murio . . . " is at variance with the account given in Bancroft (*ibid.*, 463, 464), who depicts a death-bed scene in Tonalá, placing his main reliance on the accounts of Tello and Mota Padilla. He is correct in stating that the death occurred " . . . probably during the latter part of 1538." We are left, however, with the puzzle of the exact nature of Coronado's 1538 appointment to the governorship. The *cédula* cited by Bancroft was certainly issued before news of de la Torre's death had reached Spain and therefore Coronado's letter, reproduced below, with its plea for a definite salary, had not reached Spain. We may assume that it represents a routine correction of the imperfection of the earlier *provisión* of appointment, probably in response to a request from Mendoza who, with his expedition in mind, had already determined to replace de la Torre with his friend, and had written to Spain to that effect, on receipt of the original appointment, considerably earlier in 1538 than the date of Coronado's report printed below. Coronado's authority to use the letters and provisions sent to de la Torre as though sent to himself, may, on the other hand, provide a simple explanation.

tained in the Tejada *residencia*.⁶ In any event his early performance as governor of New Galicia satisfied both the Emperor and his immediate superior, the viceroy, as to his abilities and the coveted command of the expedition sent to seek the seven cities of Cíbola was awarded to him.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

The University of Michigan.

ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS

Audiencia de Guadalajara, Leg.^o 5.

/ Extracto del documento /

1538.

Francisco Vazquez Coronado, Juez de comision para tomar
residencia al Lizenciado de la Torre.

F.^a 4.v. /

/ +

da
rresp

+

a su m

De fran^{co} vazquez de coronado de XV de dizi^e de 1538.
vista

fha

nu^a Galicia.

+

A la. S. C. C. M. del enperador y rrey de españa nro señor.

F.^a 1. /

/ +

S. C. C. M.

1538 Nueva galizia

El viso rrey de la nueva españa me dio vna provision rreal de vra mag por la qual v. m. me manda venir a esta provincia de la nueva galizia a tener cargo della y a tomar rresidencia al liçenciado de la torre juez de rresidencia que aqui fue y en cumplimiento de lo que vra mag me manda luego que se me entrego la provision de vra mag me parti de la çibdad de mex^{co} y quando llegue a esta governaçion halle muerto al licenciado de la torre a quien vra mag me manda tomar rresidencia en la villa de guadalajara desta provincia a donde el licenciado rresidio y murio pregone rresidencia contra los bienes que quedaron a sus herederos en aquella via provey algunas cosas que convenian al serviçio de vra mag y queriendome venir a esta çibdad de conpostela llego el pr^{co} de la villa de san miguel de la provincia de culiacan y me dixo que los vezinos de aquella villa se venian y la dexavan despoblada y que toda la provincia estava a punto de se perder y me rrequirio de parte de vra mag que

⁶ *Ut. sup.*, note 3.

F.^a 1.v./

con brevedad fuese a poner rremedio en ello certificandome que si dentro de quarenta dias no yva que los vezinos no se vendrian a cabsa de muchas neçesidades que padeçen y de los daños que ay aqui vn yndio que anda alçado les haze pedile ynformaçion y diomela mas bastante de lo que yo la quisiera por que parece por ella estar los vezinos de la villa de san miguel y los yndios que alli estan de paz con mucho trabajo con esta enbio a vra mag el rrequirimiento que se me hizo y la ynformaçion para que vra mag. lo mande ver si fuere servido de / [roto] / ber el est.^{do} / en que esta aquella provincia yo traya determinado de yr a visitalla en pudiendome desocupar por que ansi me lo mando el visorrey de la nueva españa de parte de vra mag. y me dio çierta ayuda de costa que llevase a los vez's de aquella villa de san miguel sabiendo sus neçesidades temiendo lo que aora sucede que es venirse y dexar des poblada aquella villa yo me partire de aqui a ocho dias y antes me oviera partido sino por dexar proveydo en lo de aqui lo que conviene al servicio de vra mag. y hare todo lo posible por rremediar aquella villa y provincia y vere si conviene al servicio de vra mag sostenerse y de todo dare rrelaçion a vra mag.

Ya tendra vra mag. rrelaçion de lo que es esta provincia de la nueva galizia de los que en ella an governado por vra mag y desta cabsa y de que a poco que estoy en ella dexo de dalla al presente a vra mag hasta tenello todo bien visto solamente dara aqui en esta a vra mag del estado en que la halle sepa vra mag que la mayor parte de los yndios della estan de guerra vnos que no se an conquistado y otros que despues de conquistados y puestos debaxo del dominio de vra mag se an rrevelado y de los que estan de paz tienen nuño de guzman y tres o quatro criados y amigos suyos lo mejor y mas de cuya cabsa y de aver tan pocos yndios de paz muchos que an servido a vra mag en la conquista de aqui y otros que an venido a poblar padeçen mucha neçesidad y con ella tienen poco cuydado de yndustryar los yndios en las cosas de la fe y mucho de aprovecharse dellos en mas de lo que deven que como los yndios de esta provincia no estan tasados en el tributo que pueden dar sirvensen dellos en servicios personales por que tributos muy pocos yndios desta provincia lo dan sino son los que tiene encomendados nuño de guzman y estos le dan poco avnque ellos son muchos la manera como se sostienen los yndios desta governaçion que tienen yndios en encomienda es que en las minas de oro dan todos los mas pueblos a sus comenderos yndios que les saquen oro algunos de los que entre los yndios se tratan venden y compran por esclavos sin tener hierro y otros que son libres y esta manera de vivir tienen despues que se descubrieron las minas que puede aver tres años y esto es por la falta que en esta provincia ay de esclavos que avnque en ellas se hizieron en harta cantidad todos se

F.^a 2. /

sacaron a vender / fuera y por esta falta que ay dellos las minas se labran con esclavos de yndios y con yndios libres. yo vine a las minas que llaman de nra señora de la concepcion para dar orden en esto y para saber como son tratados los que sirven en ellas y hize pesquisa publica y secreta entre los mismos yndios y halle que son bien tratados asi en ser su trabajo e proybido en nonbre de vra mag que ninguno saque su vso y son enseñados en las cosas de la fe tanto que no e visto yndio en toda esta provincia q tenga señal de xpiano si no son los que vien [sic] las minas y por esto me parecio dexallos en este estado sin menear nada como lo an fecho los que an governado hasta dar cuenta dello a vra mag para que vra mag mande en ello lo que fuere servido.

q hizo bien y
se le tiene en
serui^o

En otra manera se aprovechavan los vezinos en esta provincia antes que yo viniese a ella de los yndios que tienen encomendados que los arrendavan para la çibdad de mex^{co} y de alli los trayan cargados de mr^{as} y era esto tan sin orden que yo los tope quando vine de mex^{co} de quarenta en quarenta y de çinquenta en çinquenta cargados que yvan y venian tan muertos de hanbre que avn de comer no se les dava por su trabajo e proybido en nonbre de vra mag que ninguno saque yndio lybre de la provincia so graves penas por que era en gran detrimento de los naturales desta provincia que algunos yvan asi cargados ochenta leguas de sus casas an lo sintido tanto los vezinos desta provincia que dicen que se an de quexar a vra mag.

al visorey y
enbiesele en
blanco para
el con el g^{or}

Vra mag. me manda por su provision rreal que vse de las cartas y p^ouisiones de vra mg dirigidas al licenciado de la torre como si a mi fueran dadas y entre ellas ay vna en que vra mag. manda al licenciado de la torre y al el protetor xpoval de pedraza que tasen los tributos que los yndios desta governacion pueden dar a las personas que los tienen encomendados por vra mag. y por que el protetor desta provincia no vsare della hasta saber que manda vra mag que se haga ay mucha neçesidad que los yndios se tasen porque avnque dan poco tributo como no estan tasados sirvense dellos en serviçios personales como quieren y por eso vra mag descargara su rreal conçiencia con mandar que se tasen como se publico esta provision en que vra mag manda que se tasen los yndios ay algunos que ynponen a los yndios que tienen encomendados en que digan que les dan mucho mas tributo / del que les dan y pueden dar con fin de que si los tasaren los hallen subidos en lo que dan creyendo que por alli se a de seguir la tasa y anque veo que se engañan parece me dar aviso dello a vra mag.

F.^a 2.v./

bien

En bolviendo de culiacan que sera lo mas presto que pueda quanto desorden en lo de alli. procurare de traer de paz los yndios desta provincia que estan rrevelados con hazelles buenos tratamientos y buenas obras y con rreligiosos que el visorrey de la nueva españa me dixo que enbiaria para esto y quando ellos y yo no pudieremos traerlos al conosçimi^o de la fe y

servicio de vra mag trabajare por todas las vias que pueda de ponellos debaxo del dominio de vra mag.

El licenciado de la torre rrepartio en esta provincia muchos yndios de los que no se an conquistado ni visto y davalos a quien se los pedia a quinze y a veynte leguas de tierra con todos los yndios questoviesen en ella y avn algun rrepartimiento vvo de mas de çinquenta leguas y estos tienen las çedulas guardadas hasta que la tierra se pacifique vra mag mande lo que es sirvido que en esto se guarde porque rreçibiryan agravio los que an sirvido y sirvieren a vra mag en la conquista y pacificacion desta tierra si otros que no lo an fecho se llevasen el provecho.

En comarca desta cibdad de conpostela ay treynta rrepartimientos encomendados a vezinos della y solas diez casas ay en toda esta cibdad porque los vezinos no an querido rresidir diziendo los vnos que los yndios que tienen de rrepartimientos estan de guerra y los otros que no les dan ningun provecho y su absencia es alguna cabsa de no estar pacificada esta comarca y harta de no estar los yndios yndustriados en las cosas de la fe que en esto hallo que a avido demasiado descuydo por que como digo a vra mag. no e visto en toda esta provincia yndio que tenga señal de xpiano sino son los que vien las minas y cinco o seys muchachos que dexo aqui el protetor aora an pedido los vezinos desta çibdad de conpostela que la quieren mudar a donde este en mas comarca de los yndios que les sirven y viendo quel asiento de aqui no es bueno y que los yndios rreçiben beneficio por que no saldran a syrvir tan lexos de sus casas e señalado sitio do se pasen y e hecho / pregonar que todos los que tienen yndios en esta çibdad vengan a rresidir en ella dentro de çierto tiempo con aperçibimiento que en nombre de vra mag. se encomendaran sus yndios a otras personas que rresidan y los enseñen y yndustrien en las cosas de la fe e vra mag mande en esto lo que es sirvido que se haga por que para la pacificacion desta provincia y para que los yndios sean enseñados conviene que los que los tienen en su encomienda rresidan en ellos.

Al licenciado de la torre no le a pedido en su rresidencia sino nuño de guzman que le puso quatro demandas de çiertos yndios de los que tiene encomendados de quel licenciado se sirvio y por que de la pesquisa secreta no rresulta ninguna cosa de que se le aya de hazer cargo a sus herederos avnque a su persona se pudieran hazer hartos y tiene ya dado cuenta a dios dellos no la ynbio para que vra mag la mande ver. no tuvo tenientes ningunos en esta governacion a quien se tomase rresidencia ni avn alcaldes no avia en la villa de guadalajara quando a ella llegue que yo los puse [sic] y provey los rregidores en nombre de vra mag.

El licenciado de la torre tomo cuenta a los ofiçiales de vra mag que tien cargos en esta provincia de la rreal hazienda de vra mag y quando yo vine a ella halle quel tesorero de vra

q lo que en
vida del lic^o
no se efectuo
no se cunpla.

bien

F.^a 3. /

hizo bien

q las rrevea mag tenia en su poder todas las cuentas alcançes y senia que en ellas se avia dado por que como por muerte del licenciado el tesorero quedo por justyçia mayor aqui y con otros procesos y provisiones de vra mag saco las cuentas y agora dize quel licenciado le agravio en çiertas partidas a pedido que le de vn traslado abtorizado de las cuentas alcance y senia y abtos asele dado y avnque no se que en las cuentas se aya hecho cosa que no se deva hazer pareçieme dar rrelaçion dello a vra mag.

La provision por que vra mag. me manda venir al cargo desta governaçion no trae señalado salario suplico a vuestra mag mande señalar / el que fuere servido con que yo me pueda sustentar conforme a la careza desta tierra que es grande por estar muy desviada del puerto y de la çibdad de mexico. nro señor la. S. C. C. m. de vra mag guarde y prospere con acrecentamiento de otros mayores rreynos y señorios como vra mag desea desta çibdad de conpostela de la nueva galizia a 15 dias del mes de dizienbre de 1538 años.

S. C. C. m.

humil vasallo y criado de v. m.

q sus rreales pies y manos vesa

fran^{co} vazqz

de coronado

/ Rúbrica /

/ Foja 4, en blanco /

proueydo
F.^a 3.v. /

THE REPORT OF THE BISHOP OF DURANGO ON CONDITIONS IN NORTHWESTERN MEXICO IN 1745

Translated and edited by Ronald L. Ives

INTRODUCTION

This report, written in 1745 by Martin Elizacoachea, Bishop of Durango, is of historical and ethnological interest as a brief summary of conditions in northwestern Mexico in the years just prior to the general Indian uprising of 1750-51. Many of the data presented in this report seem to be derived from the findings of Jacob Sedelmayr.¹

In so far as possible, the exact wording of the original has been followed in the translation. In a few instances, because of obscure sentence structure or idioms that cannot be literally translated, minor changes in wording, preserving the meaning of the original, have been necessary.

RONALD L. IVES.

University of Colorado.

THE REPORT

Durango, June 19, 1745

The Bishop describes the condition of some provinces adjacent to those already converted, and proposes measures for their continued occupation and extension.²

Señor

The catholic zeal, with which Your Majesty and his glorious progenitors have followed these new kingdoms since their conquest, always securing the conversion of their natives to our Holy Faith, stirs my conscience and feeds my desire to inform your royal soul of the present state of some provinces adjacent to those already converted, for they all belong under the care of this mitre with which Your Majesty has deigned to intrust me.

¹ A narrative account of Sedelmayr's travels is contained in *Documentos para la Historia de México*, Series 3, Vol. 1, Part II, pp. 843-856. An English translation of this, *Sedelmayr's Relación of 1746*, by R. L. Ives, may be found in *Bull. 123*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, 1939, pp. 99-117.

² Notations on the cover of the manuscript state that it was considered at the council of June, 1747, and that the *Fiscal* had replied to it prior to the meeting of the council.

That of the Seri nation, which occupies the extensive tidal lagoons,⁴ extending from the Río Hiaqui⁴ to that of Caborca,⁵ is that although in past years the missionaries of the Company of Jesus of the Province of Sonora converted some of this nation, and collected them in the mission named *El Populo*,⁶ the greater portion of them have always remained infidels, and even some of the converts deserted the mission to return to their ancient beaches.

All of this nation, señor, can be converted, if Your Majesty will order two missions constructed on this island of Tiburón, or one mission with two missionaries. If the sterility and lack of water make these shores an unsuitable location for a settlement or mission, it would be possible to remove the converts from them, and assemble the converts in a more suitable locality, for those already converted should never be permitted to live on these desert shores.

Should this nation, whose conversion seems very necessary, be arrogant and again in revolt, the missionaries might need some armed men with them, so that they will not be suffocated by the barbarity of the infidels, the aversion of the apostates, or the influence of other evil persons who are among them.⁷ Even at the end of their conversion, the presence of some soldiers will be necessary, to keep the converts together, for, without soldiers, the Seri can easily return to their homeland, and their conversion will not be lasting.⁸

The allowance which Your Majesty has been pleased to make from the royal treasury for the use of those who devote themselves to the work of conversion, for their maintenance and clothing, is not enough to buy them the necessities of life, although they work assiduously and cultivate the soil. The conversion of the Seri nation, and its settlement in missions, will free the settlers in this province of Sonora from a continual worry, and permit those who live near the Seri to work the mineral deposits, which will certainly make a notable addition to the royal possessions, with less fear and uncertainty.

The three missions of Santa María Soamca, Guevavi, and San Javier de el Vac, have, at the order of Your Majesty, converted many of the gentiles

⁴ The original reads *marisma*. Unless the term has been misused, this implies a change in land levels since 1745. Today, the Sonoran coast of the Gulf of California has, in most places, a wide beach, with few lagoons, but with a somewhat extensive shelf just below low tide level.

⁴ Río Yaqui.

⁵ Río de Altar or Concepción. The range given for the Seris is too great. Probably, in 1745, the Guaymas, Seris, Añeño Papagos and other coastal tribes living in the area described were considered one tribe.

⁶ A summary history of the Seri troubles up to 1896 is contained in *The Seri Indians* by W. J. McGee, *Seventeenth Ann. Rpt. Bur. Amer. Ethnology*, 1896, pp. 51-122. A good bibliography is included. Recent reports indicate that the island Seri are rapidly becoming extinct as a result of continual warfare, poverty, and venereal diseases.

⁷ These were the *shamans* or medicine-men. Whether their number actually increased about 1745, or whether the Jesuits had just become aware of their presence and influence, is problematical.

⁸ All attempts to convert the Seri, or to remove them from their sterile homeland, have been notably unsuccessful.

who live in this province, but, according to my predecessor, the conversion was not as complete as he had hoped, for the missions lack an armed auxiliary. Being at the frontiers of the Apache, bloody enemies of the vassals of Your Majesty and of the Christian name, the timid missionaries will not risk the continued attacks on their principal settlements to instruct the converts, as these savages request, nor induce them to build churches and houses, for the missionaries want to live in some safety, and not always on the defensive against the attacks of the cruel Apache.

Because of the lack of help for the necessary instruction of the converts, they have acknowledged among them a growing number of sorcerers,⁹ who with inhuman cruelty kill these same natives, and curse the missionaries: this damage may be remedied with the aid of arms in the two missions of Soameca and San Javier de el Vac. Certainly, with this help, the attacks of the Apache will be curbed, and the malicious influence of the sorcerers will be decreased by the more frequent teaching and instruction which the missionaries will be able to give the converts.

With this activity will be gained the conversion of the Papago nation, which inhabits the sterile desert between the aforementioned missions and the Gila River. These natives, because they are very peaceful, can be easily removed from their lands¹⁰ and settled at these missions, or in the older ones of Pimería Alta, which are close to the Sea of California.

In compliance with the royal order of Your Majesty of the past year of forty-two [1742], in which the missionaries are charged with the conversion of the Moqui nation, I questioned with great care a missionary¹¹ who has penetrated the lands on the banks of the rivers Gila, Colorado, and Azul farther than any other, and have determined that with ten missions, built in the most convenient locations in this unsettled area, the conversion of the Pima nation, which inhabits the Gila valley at a distance of eighty leagues from the last mission of Pimería Alta, and three other nations, known by the names of Cocomicopa, Lluma, and Nifores, which are found on the banks of the same river near another named the Colorado; and many others which are unfamiliar, and only confusedly known of, which inhabit the banks of these and other rivers near their mouths in the Sea of California, can be easily accomplished. All of these nations, according to the missionary, are gentle, peaceable, and friends of the Spanish, whose acquaintance up to now promises certain hope of their conversion, and from this will follow that of Moqui, for the road will be opened by these new foundations, and frequent communication with the Moquis will begin. To make these conversions permanent, a fort will need to be established, with a sufficient number of soldiers to serve as a defense for the converts and to protect the Spanish against the cruelties of the barbarous Apache. This fort can be established on the bank of the Gila River, where the lands of the Pima nation end, and those of the Apache begin. The nearest forts, which are those of Fronteras and Terrenate, are more than one hundred leagues from this place, so that recourse to them, against the hostilities of the Apache, is impossible for

⁹ This suggests a reversion to original tribal religious beliefs.

¹⁰ Despite their apparent docility, and the barrenness of their homeland, the Papagos, like many other desert tribes, refuse to be moved, even to more fertile regions.

¹¹ Sedelmayr.

the missionaries. The projected fort is planned so that with the other presidios of New Mexico—Paso, Janos, Fronteras, and Terrenate—the Apaches will be surrounded, and confined on all sides, which raises the hope of their early subjection and decay, and with this, the several neighboring nations, which have been overpowered by their pride and ferocity, can breathe more freely, and the missionaries will be able to dedicate themselves to the conversion of the rest of the infidels with more safety.

I would like, señor, to send to Your Majesty with this report a map to better explain the location of these lands, the courses of the rivers, and the locations of the nations, which I have not done because there is no one in these nations who can draw it; I hope that in time one will be made by a missionary with greater knowledge of this province.

I well know the great costs which are proposed to Your Majesty in the construction of these missions, the founding of the presidio, and the transportation of the missionaries from Mexico City, more than seven hundred leagues distant, and the depletion of the royal treasury by the present war; but neither do I overlook that the conversion of these nations, in addition to bringing to Your Majesty the glory of attracting so many souls to the knowledge of the true God, from those who live in ignorance of the faith, will make possible the discovery of new mines, which in time will copiously augment the royal income, as will the discoveries in Sonora already disclosed by the just God, of which you are now deprived because of lack of work in the mines, caused by fear born of the Apache attacks.

Your Majesty, with your great understanding, shall be able to determine, in view of this, my *informe*, that which he deems most appropriate; and which seemed to me necessary to recall to your royal highness the greatness of the obligation in which I deign to show my inferiority.

Durango, June 19, 1745.

Martin, Bishop of Durango
(Rubric)

¹² Sedelmayr's description of the tribes of the Colorado valley is clearer. Other useful descriptions can be found in *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, the diaries of Francisco Garcés, by Elliott Coues, and in the several diaries presented in *Ansa's California Expeditions* by Herbert E. Bolton.

MARSHAL PRIM AND THE QUESTION OF THE CESSION OF GIBRALTAR TO SPAIN IN 1870¹

It is true, as Professor Abbott has said, that "during the nineteenth century but one voice of any consequence in the world of politics, that of Cobden, was raised in favor of abandoning [Gibraltar]. . . . Almost alone of European territories its name virtually disappeared from negotiations for more than a century."² But if the Mediterranean fortress did not figure in British blue-books, it was none the less a subject of confidential conversations between the leading men of two governments upon one occasion at least.³ This occurred early in the war year of 1870. The circumstances should be of considerable interest at the present time.

The Spanish generals who had driven out the reactionary Queen Isabella in October, 1868, found themselves in a very critical position in Madrid in February, 1870. They had not succeeded in persuading any royal prince to accept the vacant Spanish throne. Marshal Juan Prim, the powerful, ambitious, and imperturbable President of the Council, was accused by his opponents of seeking the position himself. The condition of the treasury was well-nigh desperate. And a republican revolt was generally expected.

In this embarrassing situation, Prim decided upon several secret moves whose results, he hoped, would strengthen the Cabinet, revive public confidence, and speed the monarchy toward stability and permanence.

The first was an overture to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern to become King of Spain. The dramatic details of the succeeding negotiations, which eventually ignited the Franco-German War, have often been recounted.

Prim's second manoeuvre has remained virtually unknown, and

¹ The documents printed herewith were found in the course of extensive research for a study of the diplomacy of the European Powers and the Spanish Revolution, 1868-1871, as part of a larger work upon the diplomacy and press-relations of the Powers in the years 1866-1871. I am greatly indebted to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation and to the Oberlaender Trust, for financial assistance.

² Wilbur C. Abbott, *An Introduction to the Documents Relating to the International Status of Gibraltar 1704-1934* (New York, 1934), pp. 15-16.

³ Professor Abbott suspected such discussions on several occasions (*ibid.*, p. 16).

completely unchronicled.⁴ In a conversation with Mr. A. H. Layard, minister of the friendly British government, the Marshal suggested that England cede Gibraltar to the new Spain. He argued on grounds of nationality and of the friendship between the two countries. He recalled the British cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece in 1863, and offered to hand over Ceuta to Great Britain in return, or to make other unspecified concessions.⁵ This purely private overture Layard communicated by letter to the Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon, who submitted it to the Cabinet, merely as a matter of form, and wrote as tactful a rejection as he could.

In his reply, Clarendon argued that on strategic grounds public opinion would not consent to give up Gibraltar, that the useless Ionian Islands provided no valid precedent, and that Ceuta would not be a substitute because of the cost of fortifying it.⁶ He confessed to Layard that he personally sympathized with the Spanish desires.⁷ Like others during the mid-century ebb of imperialism, Clarendon was surprisingly indifferent to retaining the rock in English hands. And probably the majority of the Cabinet—it was Gladstone's first ministry—held similar views.

Although Clarendon, with correct intuition, thought the British public would be "uproariously indignant" at any mention of a cession of Gibraltar, it was incredulous laughter rather than indignation which met such a question a week later in the House of Commons. Asked whether it was true, as reported in the *Times* from a Spanish newspaper, "that Mr. [John] Bright had promised to restore Gibraltar to Spain," Mr. Gladstone with fresh memories of the Cabinet meeting which had rejected Prim's feeler, branded the statement unhesitatingly as a "fabrication." ("Hear, hear" and a laugh.)⁸

⁴ So far as I am aware, it is known only through the publication, in truncated form, of Lord Clarendon's first letter of March 15, 1870 (Document No. 2 below) by Professor Temperley in *British Documents on the Origins of the War, VIII*, p. 48, editorial note, where it has remained buried among documents of a much later period.

⁵ Layard to Clarendon, letter of February 19, 1870 (Document No. 1 below).

⁶ Clarendon to Layard, letter "Private and Confidential," March 15, 1870 (Document No. 2 below).—Eighteen months earlier Lord Stanley, then Foreign Secretary, had opposed the candidacy of Queen Victoria's second son to the Spanish throne, principally because he feared it would bring a demand for Gibraltar (Lord Newton, *Lord Lyons*, I, p. 200).—Actually, pamphlets suggesting the cession did appear in 1869 both in Madrid and in London (Abbott, *op. cit.*, Nos. 231 and 232).

⁷ Clarendon to Layard, letter "Private," March 15, 1870 (Document No. 3 below).

⁸ *The Times*, No. 26705, p. 6: Parliamentary Intelligence, House of Commons,

Whether it would have been wiser for Britain to have taken this opportunity to get possession of Ceuta, while securing from Spain the permanent neutralization of the rock of Gibraltar—a concession which Prim would probably have granted—is a matter for the military expert rather than for the historian to decide.

As for Prim himself, the failure of his Gibraltar manoeuvre was matched by the ultimate failure of the negotiations with the Prince of Hohenzollern, after the incident had started the Franco-German conflict. That Prim's ministry, despite this ill-luck, retained its control of the state, and finally lured a king from the Italian peninsula, was due to the remarkable combination of flexibility and doggedness in that statesman himself.⁹

As for Gibraltar, one guesses that every subsequent government in the Iberian peninsula has approached the British for its cession, as Prim did, and has been answered with the same understanding and the same arguments, if not always perhaps with the rare grace and felicity of the fourth Earl of Clarendon.

CHESTER W. CLARK.

The State University of Iowa.

No. 1

MR. LAYARD TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON¹

The Earl of Clarendon
Private

Madrid Feb 19th 1870

My dear Lord Clarendon

As Genl Prim has requested me to write to you on a subject of a very confidential nature I think it is best to relate to you exactly what passed between us. After our conversation on the question of slavery in Cuba, the result of which I reported to you officially some days ago, he begged me to remain for a short time as he desired to speak to me on a matter of much importance and delicacy. He went on to say that he had called on me once or twice in the hopes of finding me in order to make this communication. I was not to consider what he was about to say official, or as coming from the Spanish Government, but, for the present, from him alone. It is not consistent with the dignity of a Government in many cases to receive a denial

March 22, 1870. The report mentions "much laughter," "renewed laughter," etc.

⁹ See H. Leonardon, *Prim* (Paris, 1901), for a favorable appreciation of the Spanish statesman, and E. S. Santovenia, *Prim el caudillo estadista* (Madrid, 1933), for a more recent short life.

¹ Unpublished. From the copy in Layard Papers, vol. CXCI, ff. 17-18 (British Museum Add. Mss. 39121). The original is not among the Clarendon Papers in the Public Record Office.

to a request and this was one of those cases. Therefore until he knew what would be the views of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the question which he was about to bring to my notice he should refrain from doing anything more than asking me to report to you privately what he was going to say. He was touching Gibraltar. I must be aware, he said, that that word could never be heard by a Spaniard without the most painful feelings. It had been so heretofore, it was so now, and it would be so so long as that portion of Spanish territory was held by strangers. I would know what the sentiments of Englishmen would be if Spain, or any other nation, held one of the strongest places on the coast of England. He knew that as long as England considered it absolutely necessary to hold Gibraltar it was hopeless for Spain to think of re-acquiring that stronghold. Spaniards could only appeal to the generosity and magnanimity of England. She had shewn these great qualities and had done an unequalled act of justice in giving up the Ionian Islands to Greece. Was it impossible to hope that she would do for Spain what she had done for the Hellenic kingdom? Would I write to you and beg you to consult other Members of Her Majesty's Government, and inform him whether there was anything which Spain could offer which might induce you to accept favourably an overture for the cession of Gibraltar. Spain was ready to make any sacrifice consistent with her honour and dignity to secure the accomplishment of her most ardent desire to regain this territory. He would leave it to H. M.'s Government to propose any exchange or arrangement they might consider adequate or equitable. He would only suggest that there was Ceuta and the adjacent territory on the opposite coast, which Spain would be willing to offer in return.

As regards his personal position he need scarcely say what immense popularity and strength a successful settlement of this question would give to any Government. I could judge how far the policy of himself and his colleagues had been in accordance with the views of H. M. Government—whether or not it was a liberal policy calculated to raise Spain amongst the nations of Europe. I knew also the difficulties with which they had to contend, and the opposition which they had to encounter. As far as he himself was concerned he should be quite satisfied and would willingly give up everything if he could secure for his country the settlement of this question of Gibraltar.

The course that he would adopt would depend upon the answer which he received from you. If you held out any hope that an overture on the part of the Spanish Government for the cession of Gibraltar would be favourably entertained he should be prepared to make an official communication, otherwise he begged that what he said to me might be considered as altogether secret and confidential, and as coming from him, Genl Prim, alone, and not from the Spanish Government.

I have endeavoured to give as far as possible Genl Prim's own words to me. Of course I neither offered any opinion or made any remark on the subject of his communication except to say that I would write to you as he wished but that I had no means of sending a letter except thro the post. He then offered to send a packet for me to the British embassy at Paris by the Spanish office messenger. He said that Olozaga^a knew nothing of what

^a Salustiano de Olozaga, Spanish ambassador in Paris.

he had said to me; and he appeared to wish that Olozaga should not be informed of what had passed between us.

[The copy ends here]

No. 2

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO MR. LAYARD*

Private and Confidential

F.[oreign] O.[ffice]
March 15 / 70

My dear Layard

I have not had the means of writing safely to you or I wd sooner have answd your important letter of the 19th ult.

General Prim adopted a most prudent course as regards himself and us in communicating with you confidentially rather than officially upon the delicate subject of Gibraltar, and for wh pray request him to accept my best thanks.

I did not live six years in Spain⁴ without being fully alive to the irritation caused in the breast of every Spaniard by the foreign occupation of that Fortress, and I can with truth assure General Prim that if it were possible at this moment to make the change he desires we shd have particular pleasure in doing so while he is in power, as we admire the liberal principles on wh his Govt is conducted and have watched with deep interest the struggle so gallantly made by that Govt agst difficulties almost unparalleled.

General Prim however cannot be aware as I am of the obstacles we should have to contend agst in any attempt to comply with his request, or how sensitive and vigilant the British public are on the question of Gibraltar, particularly at this moment when the opening of the Suez Canal makes it of the utmost importance to us, with reference to free commun[icatio]n with India, not in any way to weaken ourselves in the Mediterranean. So strong is this feeling at present that I am certain Parliament wd not permit the cession of Gibraltar and that discussion upon it wd inevitably augment difficulties for the future.

Ceuta wd not at all answer the purposes for wh we desire to retain possession of Gibraltar, and General Prim will know much better than myself what an enormous outlay wd be required to place it in a proper state of defence etc. etc. We are economizing in every direction and the Minister who proposed such an expenditure wd simply be met by a vote of censure.

The case of the Ionian Islands is not an analogous one—we held them *for the convenience of Europe* not as Possessors but as Protectors. They were costly to us, unproductive and of small strategical importance. The people of those Islands, chafing under foreign administration, were so far ungovernable that they wd not allow us to govern them for their advantage,

* From the holograph original in Layard Papers, Vol. LXVII, ff. 284-287 (B.M. Add. Mss. 38997). A copy in F.O. 361/1 in the Public Record Office was partly published by Temperley in *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, VIII, 48, editorial note. The omitted portion, the paragraph on the Ionian Islands, was printed later in *Journal of Modern History*, IX (1937), 54.

⁴ The Earl of Clarendon had been British minister at the Court of Madrid from 1833 to 1839.

and we accordingly obtained the consent of other Powers to permit their annexing themselves to Greece—the summum bonum that they desired—they have paid dearly for their love of nationality but to us it has been an unalloyed advantage.

I was of course obliged, but in *strict confidence* to consult my Colleagues upon General Prim's letter but neither to Rances⁵ or Olozaga or to any one else has it been or will it be mentioned. Pray assure Gnl. Prim of this.

Yours very truly
Clarendon

No. 3

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO MR. LAYARD*

Private

F.[oreign] O.[ffice]
March 15 / 70

My dear Layard,

[Various matters relating to Spain.]

I have written you a letter about Gibraltar wh you can read to Prim. I have put it in a mild form so as not to discourage hope for the future but I need not tell you that the cession of Gibraltar is a matter that cannot be trifled with and that our public wd be uproariously indignant if it thought the Govt was going to commit that sort of treason. For my own part I fully sympathise in the Spanish feeling on the subject and don't believe we shd suffer from the loss of the place except as a smuggling depôt of wh we make scandalous use, but pray explain to Prim that it is not a question of generosity or magnanimity but of political necessity for the Govt and that he had much better therefore not moot the question. We would not have Ceuta if Spain paid us to take it.

I will beg of you to say everything friendly from me to Prim as I shd be glad to do anything in my power to oblige him.

[Slave trade and Cuba.]

Yours very truly,
Clarendon.

⁵ Manuel Rances y Villanueva, Spanish minister in London.

* Unpublished. From the holograph original in Layard Papers, vol. LXVII, ff. 288-291 (B.M. Add. Mss. 38997). A copy exists in F.O. 361/1 in the Public Record Office.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Manila Galleon. By WILLIAM LYTTLE SCHURZ. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1939. Pp. 453. Maps. \$6.00.)

The story of the famous "Manila galleons" and of the trade that they carried between Mexico and the Philippines is only the core of Schurz's book. The title is apparently part of an effort to popularize a history of Spanish politico-commercial activities, till the early nineteenth century, in the Asiatic Pacific. About one third of the work discusses the relations of the Philippines with various parts of Asia, or such things as the Asiatic residents of Manila, or Spanish discoveries in the South Seas, in a manner and to a degree often irrelevant to the story of the "Galleon" trade. Other aspects of the effort to popularize appear in the failure to cite authorities and in the uncritical bibliography. There are three contemporary maps. An index is so far from complete as to be misleading, and alphabetization and form of entries in the bibliography depart very far from the practices to which scholars are accustomed.

Strangely enough, considering the apparent intention of seeking general readers, the style of the book is its only serious fault. The historian, though he curse the lack of citations, can dig out materials that interest him, since paragraphs and groups of paragraphs are well written. Larger organization is confusing. A lengthy "Introduction" virtually summarizes the material of the later chapters. The last chapter, since it discusses the Spanish American trading policy and system that underlay the whole Philippine trade, obviously should be read first. The intervening chapters take up individual sections of the story and discuss them one by one through three centuries, frequently with subdivisions that do the same thing. There is frequent repetition, little effort at inter-relation, and almost no sense of the passage of time or of developments as a whole. Like all Spanish colonial institutions, the Philippine trade had successive periods of formation, of brief success, of long decay, and of late and partial regeneration. Readers who already know that can discover it in this book; others will not discover it at all. And it is almost impossible to follow some of the story even within a single chapter. As an example, let the reader try to get the galleon's route into his head from chapter six, without taking notes.

Scholarship, on the other hand, satisfies all the tests that can be made lacking scholarly apparatus. The publishers announce the work as the result of "twenty-seven years of exhaustive study." This may overstate the case, but Dr. Schurz's articles on the subject began to appear in print nearly that long ago, and the intervening years seem to have been used to good purpose.

The work is based on an enormous documentation from the Archive of the Indies, and on a large group of printed sources and secondary studies. The printed items bring in English and French data, a few Dutch works (in translation), and even articles based on Chinese and Japanese sources. In spite of the extensive use of the Archive of the Indies, Schurz should also have inspected Torres y Lanzas (and Navas del Valle), *Catálogo de los documentos relativos á las islas Filipinas . . . Precedido de una historia general . . . por P. Pablo Pastells* (Barcelona, 1925-), of which volume eight (1933) covers through 1644. And until someone writes on eighteenth-century Spanish colonial trade policy as such, the reviewer hopes he may suggest that persons interested in the subject should read certain chapters of his *Caracas Company* (1934). Though there are, of course, many other omissions, it is improbable that Schurz's work suffered from them. A few of the most important are: Pedro Ordóñez de Cevallos, *Historia y viage del mundo* (1614 or 1691); Francesco Carletti, *Ragionamenti* (1701); Julian Paz, "Contratación de Filipinas con el Japón. Documentos [de 1604 á 1607] del Archivo General de Simancas"—*Boletín de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, I (1896); and P. Lorenzo Pérez, "Relaciones diplomáticas entre España y el Japón [c. 1609]"—*Archivo Ibero Americano*, XXXI (1929). The 1923 edition of Núñez Ortega has valuable appendices not found in the 1879 version.

One is compelled to note that Gemelli Careri, though listed in the Italian, is always quoted in the English of Churchill's *Voyages*, and a few other books listed do not seem to have contributed much to the text. It was unfortunate to use an English translation of Acosta's work, easily obtainable in the Spanish. But on the whole, the sources have been used as thoroughly and thoughtfully as they were gathered. There are few obvious errors. Typographic slips that, being in the bibliography, might make trouble, include "Gález" for "Gálvez," and 1872 instead of 1871 as the date for Azcárraga y Palmero. A strange genealogy of ship types is inferred on pages 195 and 199, and there is no suggestion of curiosity whether the Acapulco vessels were in fact *galeones* or *naos*. It is a long while since authorities have identified *Fusang* with any part of America

(p. 227). The eighteenth-century ministers of the Indies did not have "the last word in overseas affairs" (p. 400), being subordinate in large matters to the chief Minister of State. But none of these errors are fundamental, and it is impossible to doubt the essential trustworthiness of the book.

However much, therefore, it may deprecate certain features of his study, the scholarly world will congratulate itself that Dr. Schurz has at last completed the work so long interrupted by his abandonment of an academic career. His "Manila Galleon" must be regarded as an indispensable addition to every Latin-American and Philippine library.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY.

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The Journal of Jean Cavelier: The Account of a Survivor of La Salle's Texas Expedition, 1684-1688. Translated and annotated by JEAN DELANGLEZ. (Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History, 1938. Pp. 179.)

This attractive little volume presents for the first time in printed form the original French text, accompanied by an excellent English translation, of the complete *Journal of Jean Cavelier*, the brother of La Salle, covering the expedition of the great explorer in his attempt to plant a French colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, the ill-fated journey across Texas during which the leader was assassinated by some of his companions, and the experiences of those survivors who returned to Quebec to embark for France.

The section entitled "Jean Cavelier, Chronicler" (pp. 3-35) gives a critical history of the document here reproduced and explains in a thorough and scholarly manner the slight value of the *Journal* as a historical source. After reading these convincing revelations demonstrating the untrustworthiness of the document as a historical source, the reader really wonders why such a document is considered worthy of reproduction at all, unless it be to enable the editor to illustrate more completely its deficiencies as a reliable account of the events which it purports to narrate.

The original French text and the parallel English translation of the *Journal* (pp. 53-131) need no comment except the statement that the French text is faithfully reproduced and the English translation carefully rendered. The "Editor's Notes" on the text (pp. 133-172) are full and complete, affording a striking example of scholarly re-

search into all available sources. They shed much new light upon many questionable statements in the *Journal* and are a mine of information for the student of this phase of French colonial development in North America.

The reproductions of "Lahontan's Map" and "Schema of Lahontan's Map" (between pp. 172 and 173) give an excellent insight into the geographical knowledge of the Mississippi Valley near the end of the seventeenth century.

The volume is singularly free from typographical errors, which only painstaking proof-reading can eliminate from such a work. It also contains an adequate index.

Dr. Delanglez has placed all students of American colonial history under a debt of gratitude for this scholarly contribution to the literature of French exploration in the Mississippi Valley.

WALTER PRICHARD.

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Queen Anne's Navy in the West Indies. By RUTH BOURNE. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939. Pp. viii, [1], 334. Bibliography; index; map. \$3.00.)

"The subject of the English naval activities in the Caribbean", says Dr. Bourne in her preface, "broadens . . . into a consideration of the relation of the navy to colonial commerce. . . . There has never been an adequate explanation and description of the navy as a policing force, which was its greatest service, rather than as a machine of aggression, in which capacity it was entirely inefficient."

In attempting to supply the lack, the author draws heavily upon Admiralty archives, printed calendars and collections of governmental records, and contemporary imprints, especially pamphlets. She supplements these with manuscripts from the British Museum and the Huntington Library, and a few secondary studies. Ten French secondary works, only one of them much cited in the book, are the only non-English items. The first chapter discusses English reasons for interest, the second describes conditions in the Antilles, and the last bears a sardonic title, "The English win the war," that may puzzle future antiquarians but is easily understood now. In between come five chapters on British naval inactivities in the Caribbean, 1701-1713.

The book is hard to use. The bibliography appears in narrative form, the notes constantly supplement the text, and synthesis is scanty. Data generally occur chronologically in each chapter, but several chapters are parallel in time and no effort is made to inter-

connect them. To visualize naval affairs at any given time, one must mentally rearrange the whole book.

Sources are one-sided and uncritically used. Raynal and James Rodway are not questioned as authorities, and complaints by colonials or governors' criticisms of colonials are recorded as sober fact. No certainly indispensable English works are omitted, though scraps could be gleaned from publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. A clearer viewpoint on naval status might have resulted from study of late seventeenth-century conditions in works like Tanner, "Administration of the navy" (E. H. R., XII [1897], XIV [1899]) and Neeser, "British naval operations in the West Indies, 1650-1700" (*Proc.*, U. S. Naval Inst., XL [1914]), and Haring's *Trade and Navigation* should have been used instead of E. G. Bourne's *Spain in America*. Foreign sources are another matter. Use of Spanish, real use of French, and if possible use of Dutch, materials could have given a truer light even on the British navy, and ought to have been imperative in a study that describes the non-English islands and treats of Dutch coöperation against the French and Spanish. Ducasse, *L'Amiral Du Casse* (Paris, 1876), and Fernández Duro, *Armada española* (Madrid, 1895-1903), would be minimum additions. Noorden, *Spanische Erbfolgekrieg* (Düsseldorf, 1870-1882), and more recent works on the war in general might be added extensively from the bibliography in Van der Haute, *Relations anglo-hollandais . . . 1700-1706* (Louvain, 1932).

To sum up, Dr. Bourne's book is disappointing. It proves its author's industry as well as the rottenness and ineffectiveness of the British navy. But it hardly mentions the navy as such, the status of the enemy, the techniques of naval warfare, or even how far the principles of sea-power were understood. It is little more than a summary of what English records say about various aspects of naval administration. It will probably become a source from which synthesizers, less industrious, will mine ore for years to come.

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McGillivray of the Creeks. By JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY. Volume 18 of *Civilization of the American Indian Series*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938. Pp. xvii, 385. \$3.50.)

At the close of the Revolutionary War the Creek Indians were wedged between two enemies. They had been allies of the British who were supplanted in the Floridas by the Spaniards. On the north

and east the Creeks were pressed by land-hungry Americans demanding concessions of trade and territory. In the complicated web of international rivalry for the Old Southwest during the critical decade after the American Revolution, Alexander McGillivray was, perhaps, the most important single individual.

McGillivray was the son of a Scotch trader and a French-Indian woman. He was the chief of the Wind Clan and, moreover, exercised sovereignty over most of the Creek nation. Well educated, prosperous, and versed in the ways of both red and white men, he played the Americans against the Spaniards to the advantage of the Creek Nation. As an astute diplomat, he has been given the epithet, "The Talleyrand of Alabama." Because of his clever diplomacy, American settlers, land speculators, and traders were excluded from Creek lands for a generation. He was accused of duplicity by Americans and Spaniards alike, yet was unswervingly loyal to the Creeks.

Although Alexander McGillivray has been sympathetically treated by historians, no one made a definitive study of his career until Doctor John Walton Caughey edited *McGillivray of the Creeks*. This scholarly volume includes an excellent introductory essay and publishes two hundred and fourteen documents either written by McGillivray or directly relating to his career. In fifty-five pages Dr. Caughey summarizes the life of this renowned chieftain. He brilliantly interprets McGillivray's skillful intrigues to maintain the independence of the Creeks.

The three hundred pages following contain two hundred and fourteen documents from "McGillivray's Correspondence and Related Papers" for the period 1783-1794. These documents are carefully selected from hitherto little used material in the Spanish Archives and from several American manuscript depositories. Some of the documents have been translated from the Spanish while others are taken from the original English manuscripts. In the latter case Dr. Caughey has faithfully preserved the original spellings and forms. In addition to material specifically relating to the activities of Alexander McGillivray, this volume throws new light on the fur trade, the American and Spanish intrigues for control of the Creek country, and the activities of the British commercial house, Panton, Leslie and Company.

Doctor Caughey's footnotes are full, logical and significant, attesting to his fine scholarship and wide reading. In addition, he includes a lengthy bibliography and a very useful index. It is unfortunate, however, that in such a scholarly work the reviewer misses the citation of the excellent study by Lucia Burke Kinnaid, "Rock Landing

Conference of 1789" (*North Carolina Historical Review*, IX, 349-365), for Doctor Caughey's account works over the same materials and reaches the same conclusions.

The historian and the ethnologist are deeply indebted to Doctor Caughey and the University of Oklahoma Press. It is to the credit of that institution that since 1932 it has published eighteen volumes in the admirable *Civilization of the American Indian Series*.

A. P. NASATIR.

San Diego State College.

Our Catholic Heritage in Texas 1519-1936. The Mission Era: The Missions at Work 1731-1761, Vol. III. By CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA. Edited by Paul J. Foik, C.S.C. (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1938. Pp. 474. Illustrations 6. Map. \$5.00.)

This is the third of a projected series of seven volumes from the able pen of Dr. Castañeda. The two previous volumes, reviewed in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* (February, 1938), pp. 88-89, dealt with the period of exploration and first settlement, and the foundation of the mission system. This volume shows the missions at work, in the height of their prosperity, while further exploration and new plans for expansion are unfolded. The content matter offered herein adds to that already published by Dr. H. E. Bolton in his *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* by reason of additional information gathered from sources not before available. Chapter V in particular offers the fruit of new investigations concerning settlements along the Rio Grande. All that has been said in the previously-mentioned review as to the disposition and handling of the matter as well as the splendid bibliography and index, apply equally as well to the present volume.

Chapter I is a particularly useful one, for it deals with the "The Field and Its Workers." It contains three parts: a description of the various Indian tribes evangelized, a condensed explanation of the organization of the "Apostolic Colleges" whence the missionaries came, and a general picture of the character of the missions. This latter phase is admirably described in seven pages (27-34). It should not be thought that in this volume the missions as such are alone described. But the missions are placed in the setting of the whole frontier: the political and military preparations for the *entradas*; the growth and vicissitudes of the settlements in a political, economic, and social way; the inevitable disputes on the scene of action and behind the scenes; evaluations of the progress made or the loss sustained. The picture is a complete and rounded-out one.

The essential treatment of the Apostolic Colleges which supplied the missionaries offers suggestions to students of Hispanic-American history as to material for further fruitful research. In fields other than the religious one, excellent studies are available on institutional history such as the *encomienda*, the viceroyalty, the *audiencia*, the intendancy, and others, which give the student and research-worker a detailed insight into the workings of the institutional framework into which all activity in Spain and Spanish-America fitted.

On the religious side, perhaps, less has been done in a detailed way in institutional history and here is a field in English offering limitless opportunities, a field on the other hand requiring special, expert training on the technical side as well as some actual experience in and contact with the matters involved. Thus if one were to take the topic of the Apostolic Colleges as the subject for scientific inquiry, one would find abundant material not only in the legal books in Latin and Spanish on the subject but also many leads in what may be termed the documents' by-paths rather in what is offered in the broad avenues of apparent information. The constitutions of the colleges, the character of their personnel, the fields of labor cultivated, offer a tempting and promising pursuit.

As the histories of the various mission fields of the Spanish borderlands are being published, it becomes increasingly evident, that the missionaries who were trained for the particular work of the frontier and who volunteered for that work, were an unusual corps of men who in geneal were equipped with far more than religious training, which was their prime concern and interest. Their ability and success naturally redounds to their training, to the special religious institutions whence they emerged to make the frontier blossom. Linguistics, architecture, agriculture, ethnology, the handicrafts, exploration, are only some of the contributions of the padres. This would naturally lead one to scrutinize their study plans, their libraries, their general and special constitutions. If the padres had come equipped only with their professional knowledge as religious and theologians, we might be able to write their history today very briefly. The missions they founded, however, demanded knowledge and ability in almost every phase of human activity, if they were to succeed at all. What is patent from this volume of Dr. Castañeda, as well as from other scholarly works on the borderland mission fields, the missionaries were very often beforehand with practical and far-sighted suggestions for the betterment and development of the established colonies in a material way, leading the very civil rulers in matters which primarily one would judge the latter would have shown the greater ability.

The mission chain, largely a Franciscan one, stretching from Santa Elena on the east coast to San Francisco on the west, finds its geographical center in the region of San Antonio, Texas, and for some years to come scholars will be looking forward to the forthcoming volumes of Dr. Castañeda, to complete the initial narrative.

MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M.

Old Mission, Santa Barbara, Calif.

Philip II. By WILLIAM THOMAS WALSH. (London and New York: Sheed and Ward, 1937. Pp. xvi, 770. \$5.00.)

It can be said in favor of this biography written by a professor of English at Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, that Philip has been made more human. Much of the solemn, humorless, and meticulous bureaucrat is covered over by a more sympathetic approach. Nevertheless, the author strains so hard to prove his thesis that the results are often both inaccurate and unconvincing.

To the historian there is much about the book which detracts from its worth. There is too much preaching and heated controversy and not enough objectivity. Hypotheses and facts are so interwoven and colored that it becomes almost impossible to detect the truth.

In attempting so sweeping a justification of the Philip II era the author has allowed himself to go to unnecessary lengths. He spends, for example, almost all of chapter thirteen in trying to condone the Spanish Inquisition to a modern audience by endeavoring to explain away the horrors and violence of the institution, rather than by accepting them in the light of the times. No amount of medieval hair-splitting over the well-known fact that the civil authority did the actual execution for the Inquisition can make any such body seem humane and benevolent.

Two points, which received very little attention on the part of the author, might have helped the work had they been considered in their proper prospective. One was the effect of Philip's reign upon the New World, for it was precisely during his time that Spanish culture and institutions were being firmly planted on the American continents. The other was the extent to which the exhaustive foreign wars affected Spain itself. Thus the relation of Philip's reign to the history of both Spain and the world might better be shown.

There is no bibliography offered other than that which can be derived from the notes and text citations at the end of the book. The author feels that any more formal presentation would be pedantic. However, in view of the vein in which the book is written, it would be interesting to see how the author appraises the various sources,

and what type of a selection of works he would suggest for the study of the life of Philip II.

Finally, the semi-popular, well-polished style of the author as well as the beautiful printing and binding which his publishers have done for him, give to his *Philip II* a certain amount of appeal.

CHESTER L. GUTHRIE.

The National Archives.

Historia de Dom Pedro II, 1825-1891. Vol. 1, *Ascensão, 1825-1870.*
By HEITOR LYRA. [Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, Serie V, "Brasiliana," Vol. 133.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1938. Pp. 544. Illus.)

This is the first part of a proposed three-volume biography of Dom Pedro II which promises to be of outstanding importance. The author, a distinguished Brazilian diplomat, has not only drawn upon the best printed works and the unpublished materials at home and in the imperial archives at the Château d'Eu but has used also foreign-office records in Paris and Vienna, apparently untouched before. The fourteen chapters of the present volume bring the account through the war with Paraguay.

Dr. Heitor Lyra discusses Brazilian political quarrels and intrigues at considerable length, with vivid sketches of various factional leaders. José Bonifácio de Andrada he considers an opportunist, and for the move towards independence gives credit not to him but to the liberals led by Gonçalves Ledo (pp. 64-77). The basis for this view seems largely to be Assis Cintra's *No Limiar da História*. But the proper place of José Bonifácio in early Brazilian history will not be determined until an authoritative biography of him appears. Similarly, the author gives much attention to the rôles of Paulo Barbosa and Aureliano de Souza, and to the quarrels between Caxias and the Zacharias ministry. The discussion often has no direct bearing upon the life of the Emperor, who is at times completely obscured by these digressions and lost to the sight of the reader.

The account of the trouble between Dom Pedro and his sister Januária and her husband, the Count of Aquila, is drawn from French and Austrian archives, and is, therefore, new. In 1844, when the Emperor was not yet nineteen—but had already ruled for four years—it was charged that the Princess and Aquila were in a plot to oust him and to place Januária upon the throne. Court circles of Rio buzzed with the alleged intrigue, which many seem to have taken seriously. Rechberg, the Austrian minister, even asked Prince Metternich for instructions, in case the Emperor was deposed and exiled.

Should the Minister follow him from Brazil or remain neutral (p. 264)? It is well known that at this time relations were badly strained between Dom Pedro and his brother-in-law, who was reputed unscrupulous as well as adventure loving. But it seems impossible to learn just how much there was to the reported plot; and Dr. Heitor Lyra does not venture a definite opinion. The present reviewer suspects that the facts were considerably exaggerated in the versions of the diplomats, especially in that of the Frenchman Ney. This minister reported to his government various unfriendly conversations held between the Emperor and his sister and brother-in-law, which Ney himself could not have personally heard (pp. 268-274). The French Minister seems to have been a careless busybody who revelled in court gossip.

On the whole, the author is sympathetic towards the Emperor, both in his internal political struggles and his foreign policy. He apparently believes, and rightly, that Dom Pedro had no imperialistic designs in the Plata basin. The details presented regarding Caxias's conduct during the latter part of the Paraguayan War make clear the Emperor's magnanimity towards his old teacher; for the General was certainly guilty of indiscipline.

As has been implied, the volume lacks the unity and regard for proportions expected in a biography. The organization is also faulty. Though the work is generally well written, its scholarly style is in places marred by useless rhetoric. The footnote citations to printed materials are inadequate because no page references are given.

Final judgment of this work cannot, of course, be made until the two remaining volumes, covering the last twenty-one important years of Dom Pedro's life, have been published.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

A History of Mexico. By HENRY BAMFORD PARKES. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938. Pp. xii, 432. \$3.75.)

This new survey of the history of Mexico is composed in the liberal tradition, with resumptive introductions for each of the nine periods into which the work is divided. The eight-page bibliography is highly selective and omits many basic works; it is occasionally in error, as when it suggests a "best" history of the country, or a "best series of documents." Certainly there are no series of documents which are competitive, and it is doubtful if there is a "best" history of Mexico, distinctive and representative as many of them are.

The study of the Indians is a conventional recital of the movements and developments of the chief tribes, without recognition of the vast amount of archeological and ethnological work completed during the past two decades. The attempt to vary the account from the traditional treatments causes flights of chronology of six to twenty thousand years within two pages (e.g., 3-5). No notice is taken of recent reclassifications of the ancient populations, or of several recent demographic studies which compare and contrast the ancient and the existing populations.

In fact, the ancient tribes are not of vital consequence to the present development of Mexico. The Aztecs have been almost entirely replaced by halfbreeds, the Mayas are not influential as such in the life of the country, and if they were, little modern continuity of their culture with that of their past is demonstrated in this book. A mestizo population is running the government, and an Indian and mestizo population has to be lifted from its non-acceptance of modern civilization before nationalization is completed. Aztec, Maya, Zapotec, and other tribal cultures have less to do with the evolution of Mexican society than do the Puritans with American history. But the author has nothing to say of Tepehuanes, Tarahumaras, Coras, Seris, and a score more problem tribes passed by in silence; even Yaquis and Otomies are accorded only briefest mention. A history of Mexico which deals adequately with the natives will study the demographic structure and the problems of density and sparsity rather than the oft-told story of the primitive populations which leaves the admixed organizations without acknowledgment of the mutual effects of each upon the other.

The account of the conquest carries the story through the sixteenth century—the seventeenth has almost no treatment whatever, although there was a great deal of formative work going on in “acculturation” through town settlement and spread of missions by the church. The story of the occupation of southern Mexico includes that of Jalisco, whereas the movement which spread to Jalisco was linked with that of the entire northwest, not the south; Zapopan and San Francisco, California, are joined in one single thread of history; advancement of the dual conquest continued throughout the three hundred years, and, while the first century is important, the impression that the work was mostly done during it is not true.

The evolution of colonial government has a useful chapter with characterizations which, avoiding the narrative form, indulges in generalizations in the main true. However, in the discussion of the growth of liberalism, the reforms of Charles III are listed as the first

step. The fact is that the eighteenth-century reforms began with the French influence, under the first Bourbon monarch, and were the object of a long struggle before the advent of Charles III. Even so they were not liberal; their essential point was the placing of the entire power in the hands of the Spaniards, as the creoles bitterly complained.

There are numerous small mistakes, not to be classified as typographical errors, but rather as indications of too rapid digestion of the materials used. They can and will no doubt be corrected in a subsequent printing. "An opal" on which the eagle sits (p. 20) should be "a *nopal*." The Casa de Contración should be Casa de Contratación (p. 350); *autos da fe* were *autos de fe* (p. 106), in spite of the habitual misspelling. St. James was of Compostela, not Compostella, and Castile has only one *l*. *Mestizo rancheros* should be *rancheros mestizos*. The court of the Acordada was the sixteenth-century Santa Hermandad, from that of Spain; it was merely reorganized in the eighteenth century and as such was the prototype of the *Díaz rurales*. The reform which replaced the *intendentes* (not *intendantes*, p. 136) put Spaniards in the *alcaldías* and *corregimientos* when possible. The banner of the French revolutionary sympathizers bore the inscription *Liberated Americana* (p. 139)—could the words have been "*Libertad Americana*"?

Iturrigaray was disliked for his smuggling and his foreclosing of the mortgages of pious establishments as well as for sales of offices; it is still doubted whether Hidalgo died as a Spanish loyalist, in spite of his purported confession. It was at Zitácuaro (not Ziticuaro, pp. 156-159) that Rayón set up his government; Monteagudo's first name was Matías, not Mattias (p. 179), Ramos Arizpe has no accent on the *o*, and the form San Juan de Ulúa is preferred over Uloa.

The most useful contribution of the book is its all too brief discussion of the movement initiated with the fall of Díaz. Americans could have been taught a great deal about the original and the developed ideals of the Revolution, and the rebirth of real social attitudes under the current regime. The progress of agriculture, education, sanitation and hygiene, communications, industrialization, finance—all these need a fuller interpretation than they have yet had, and the immanent detriments to progress need further exposition. In the present work they receive no more emphasis than the parallel phases of the colonial epoch. The result is sketchy. There is not much evidence that any source materials have been consulted. The development of society from creole to mestizo influence is recounted in the over-simplified terms of the writings of Andrés Molina Enríquez, or

the extreme dicta of Francisco Bulnes, who chose to be provocative rather than truthful. Both authors were highly subjective. One could wish that so skillful a writer as Mr. Parkes had used more of the recent literature produced by scholars, and dug deeper into the demographic and economic causes of Mexican retardation, and had shown greater appreciation of the international conflict involved in the decolonization of this great raw products area.

The author is to be congratulated upon his beautiful illustrations, and his acceptance of the vitality, albeit precarious and incomplete, of the current Revolution; it is by far the most significant fact in the history of the continent today. This acceptance of the revolutionary ideal is certainly not bias; it is point of view. If it were attempted to show the Revolution as better or more successful than it is, or to show it less so, that would have been bias. Nor can I find, with Professor Haring of Harvard (*Boston Transcript*, October 15), that this book, "written in the liberal tradition"—it matters little of which century—leaves all previous syntheses in English "as dead wood beside it." Each of its predecessors leaves not merely the story it tells, but the momentary screen upon which its deductions were projected. Half a dozen other American studies of our neighbor will continue to be standard and will still be read, dead wood or not. There are many lessons for Americans, if they are not too tired liberals, to learn from the stream of events in Mexico; if they do not learn them from Parkes they will learn from some later writer who will, eschewing the dead wood, but following the outlines of his predecessors, win enduring recognition for a social and economic interpretation of Mexican history.

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY.

University of California.

Latin America: A Brief History. By FREDERICK A. KIRKPATRICK, Emeritus Reader in Spanish in the University of Cambridge. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939. Pp. xi, 456. \$2.80.)

"To tell in one short volume the history of two empires for three centuries and of twenty states for a century and a quarter, is not easy." With these words the author states his problem and his accomplishment. In eleven chapters of 120 pages, which constitute the first of two parts of the volume, the author sketches the chief characteristics of the Spanish and Portuguese empires and the separation of the American portions of those empires. To the history of the independent nations of Latin America he gives twenty-two chapters of 324 pages. The proportions of the volume may not meet with the

entire approval of scholars and teachers. It would seem that the colonial period for both Spain and Portugal should receive somewhat more space than Mexican history since independence, but this is approximately the emphasis which the author gives. This limited space permits only four lines to the Inquisition, three lines to the Casa de Contratación, perhaps six or seven to the Council of the Indies, and none at all to Coronado and Vespucci, to mention only two names.

The three plates which appear in the book are particularly attractive, and the eleven maps are valuable although one might wish that all of the latter were dated. The author provides in the preface and at the end of each chapter lists of useful and up-to-date books—he rejects the term bibliography—predominantly by authors from the United States. The index leaves something to be desired. There are a few incorrect references, some omissions such as Council of the Indies, and an unsatisfactory method of differentiating between men of the same name. Entries such as: “Justo, General,” and “Justo, President” appear. Too often in Latin-American history the general was president and the president general.

The fact that the author is an Englishman makes particularly interesting his viewpoint of the policies of the United States toward Latin America. Although he disclaims any intention “to examine, still less to criticize” these, his selection of facts reveals his attitude. Yankee imperialism is glossed over in the most approved American method, while English influence receives little attention. Perhaps this is the most disappointing feature of the book.

Many administrators of American colleges and universities limit the time for a course on Latin American history to one semester of some eighteen weeks. For undergraduate courses of this length, Kirkpatrick’s volume is excellent. It is written in a pleasing literary style. In his selection of subjects the author has included some incidents and situations not ordinarily found in the larger histories thereby providing freshness and interest to the treatment.

ALMON R. WRIGHT.

The National Archives.

The People and Politics of Latin America. By MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS. (New York: Ginn and Company, 1938. Pp. xi, 889. New Edition.)

This new edition is almost unique in that it represents a considerable revision of the first edition. Numerous minor changes have been made in the interest of clarity and accuracy; some material has

been added to many of the chapters to bring them up to date; new bibliographical data have been included, though some errors in the old edition have not been eliminated (*i.e.*, see bibliography on Brazil); two new maps appear, and several of the old ones show revision; and sixty-six illustrations of people, of art and architecture, of economic and social activities have been included. These genuine improvements greatly enhance the usefulness of a book that was already good in its field. The author is to be congratulated on her achievement.

LAWRENCE F. HILL.

Ohio State University.

Historia Documentada de los Movimientos Revolucionarios por la Independencia de Cuba de 1852 á 1867. By DIEGO GONZÁLEZ. (Habana: Academia de la Historia de Cuba, 1939. 2 vols. XVIII, 178 pp. and IX, 297 pp.)

This work was the only one presented for the competition of the Cuban Academy of History in 1931. However, because of its merit the prize was awarded, and the volumes are now published. There are four preliminary chapters on the background, events in Cuba from 1820 to 1850, the idea of annexation to the United States, and the expeditions of 1851 including that of Narciso López. The body of the book discusses the conspiracy of Vuelta Abajo in 1852; the activities and condemnation of Facciolo; the administration of Pezuela; the murder of the government spy, Casteñeda; the expedition of Estrampes (1853); and the conspiracy of Pinto (1854-1855). Finally, the events leading up to the Ten-Years' War are briefly sketched. The author describes the revolutionary activities, the harshness of the Spanish administration, and the participation of the juntas in the United States. He holds that the movements of the period were for independence and were not inspired by ideas of annexation. With respect to the conspiracy of Pinto, he believes that Captain-General Concha was implicated in it and that this accounts for his haste in executing the death sentence. The second volume comprises the text of 68 documents, appendices to chapters 5 to 14 of volume one, illustrating and supporting the account presented by Dr. González.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

Frémont: Pathmarker of the West. By ALLAN NEVINS. (New York: D. Appleton, Century Company, 1939. Pp. xiv, 649. \$5.00.)

The redoubtable John Charles Frémont is less a character in Hispanic-American than in United States history, and yet whatever rôle he had in national expansion to the Southwest was in like degree a rôle in the dismemberment of Mexico. Professor Nevins deals with his whole life but finds naturally that the climax came early, with the second and third expeditions which took him into Mexican territory, over the winter Sierra to Sutter's Fort homeward by the Old Spanish Trail, out again to the Hawk's Peak affair, the Bear Flag outbreak, the command of the California Battalion, and the quarrel with Kearny. These are the episodes in which Frémont was at his most spectacular, which makes the second half of the book an anticlimax; they are also the episodes in which Frémont, with all the sangfroid that one would expect of a manifest destinarian, was cavalierly carrying the United States flag into Mexico. Incidentally, the author's grasp on Hispanic elements is not so sure as on these stemming from the United States. Small points will illustrate: accenting of Spanish names is irregular, Alvarado was not governor of California after 1842 (p. 151), Micheltorena was not sent to the province until 1842 (p. 170), "Couenga" (p. 631) is not the preferred spelling, while some of the derogatory adjectives applied to the Californians are at least debatable.

This is by no means the first account of Frémont in California. In the eighties and nineties, Bancroft, Royce, Hittell, the Frémonts, and a number of lesser writers engaged in what was in effect a debate. More recently the same waters have been fished again by the whole tribe of historians of California and the American West and more systematically by Dellenbaugh, Bashford and Wagner, White, Goodwin, and Stenberg, and twice by the present writer. The end, it appears, is not yet. For Mr. Nevins' biography, though it is in his customary felicitous style, and though it is both an amplification of his earlier two-volume work and a tempering of some of the praise therein expressed, and though it may very well win him another Pulitzer plum, is not the book to end all books on Frémont. This is not due to particular shortcomings, but rather to the lacunae in documentation that leave the door open for variant interpretations. For example, why did Frémont make his winter crossing of the Sierra? Mr. Nevins's surmise is that Benton and Linn had planned it approximately that way when Frémont set out. On other matters, such as the messages brought by Gillespie, and Frémont's early relations with

the Bear Flag movement, Mr. Nevins's deductions will not be accepted as inevitable by those scholars who, after weighing the same evidence, have come to different conclusions. On the whole, however, this highly fluent and brilliant volume is a notable addition to the list of western and national biography, and more than any other book on Frémont it succeeds in bringing this dashing adventurer back to life.

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY.

University of California,
Los Angeles.

Biografía del Dr. y Gral. Tiburcio Carías Andino. By LUCAS PAREDES. (Tegucigalpa, D. C., Honduras, Ariston, 1938. Pp. 343.)

General Tiburcio Carías has long been active in the politics of Honduras, campaigning three times for the presidency before being successful. In 1923 he had a plurality of the votes, but the failure of Congress to act and the dictatorship of President López Gutiérrez brought on the revolution of 1924, after which Carías was eliminated by the Washington Pacts of 1923. In 1928 he accepted defeat, although he held that the election was controlled by the government. In 1932 he won the election and assumed the executive office in spite of the presidential support of another candidate. Just prior to the close of his first term, a new constitution provided for the extension of his administration to 1943.

This volume is a sketch of the life of Carías and of the events in which he has participated. After a brief survey of his education and earlier activity, three parts are devoted to the electoral campaigns mentioned above and a final part treats of the administrative labors of Carías. The volume depicts the political intrigues, revolutions, and problems of contemporary Honduras. It is favorable to Carías, considering him a *caudillo* of outstanding character who is making definite contributions to his country. There is much quoted material, although its source is not always indicated. The volume contains the text of numerous documents as well as a diary (pp. 119-175) of the war from January 30 to April 30, 1924, by Mario Ribas Cantruy.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

Puerto Rico and Its People. By TRUMBULL WHITE. (New York: Stokes, 1938. Pp. xxiv, 383. Maps, illus. \$3.75.)

Among the men disgorged from the army transports of the A.E.F. of 1898 in Puerto Rico was a young war correspondent whose interest

in the land where the fortunes of war had taken him was not to end with the campaign. Forty years later he was to return to re-study conditions in the Island and to write the present volume.

For him, comparisons were in order. He had seen the end of the old regime, the period of transition, and the effect of American institutions and ways superimposed upon a colony which had been under Spain's wing for four hundred years. Obviously what had taken four centuries to build could not be transformed in four decades; but the changes since 1898 must have been surprising even to Mr. White whose interest in insular events had never lagged.

Of the destiny of the Island he says "It is still difficult to determine whether Puerto Rico is to be a problem child of our American family or a veritable prodigy worthy of our pride." In the minds of both Americans and Puerto Ricans this uncertainty about the Island's fate accounts for many of the occurrences regretted so much by both sides. In common with several writers and officials of the federal and insular governments, the author has attempted to diagnose many of the ills to which Puerto Rico is heir; so many, in fact, that it seems to warrant its description as "the sick man of the West Indies." He has also discussed the proposed remedies clearly and ably and has told the Puerto Ricans quite candidly that many of their dreams will lead to unpleasant awakenings.

There is charm in this book. It is written with sympathy and deep knowledge of the subject, and not without humor. The author's sincerity is beyond question. Ticklish problems he has discussed with thoroughness and fairness to most of the arguments on both sides. Yet the solutions to these problems remain as remote as ever. Nevertheless it is salutary to have them presented with full knowledge of the facts, with perfect frankness, and without bias.

The American administration of Puerto Rico has neither been a bed of roses for the American administrators nor for the administered. With typical daring and lack of foresight the American administration has "muddled through," knowing not what way it was going nor what end to keep in view. The battle of two cultures had to be fought without a referee and no decision could be reached as to the result. Undecided as yet are the language question and the ultimate political status of the Island. In forty years the amount of trade between the United States and this possession has reached undreamed-of figures; but so has the population, and the individual is certainly worse off economically than he ever was before.

It is often said that one can live in the Island sitting in a hammock grabbing a banana with one hand and digging a potato out of

the ground with the other. That may be very true. The only trouble is that there is no place where one can hang a hammock, so crowded is Puerto Rico with people. With over five hundred persons to the square mile, without industries of any kind, and with the good land dedicated to the cultivation of sugar cane, all the foodstuffs, building material, and manufactured articles have to be imported. True, sugar cane is protected by the American tariff, and the prices are high; but this same tariff excludes foreign commodities from the Island by making them too costly to buy. Today Puerto Rico is sixth amongst the buyers of United States products, as important to American trade as either Germany or France or as Italy, Poland, and most of central Europe combined.

For the historian the book does not have much appeal. However, the author did not have the historian in mind when he wrote it. He wanted to draw in very bright colors a picture of the Puerto Rican scene with all its contrasts, and in that he has succeeded. His brief historical background is excellent. Undoubtedly it would give the historian who reads the book a better idea of the Island than many an historical treatise.

In passing, several minor mistakes may be noted: Dr. J. M. Gallardo, Commissioner of Education, has never been on the faculty of Duke University (page 317); and it is not fair to blame Mr. Hoover for Gore (page 238), who was Mr. Roosevelt's special gift to the Island. It is hard to express how annoying is the lack of orthographic accents in the many Spanish words and names used in the book. Any Spanish-speaking individual would gladly have supplied a bushel of them to be sprinkled through the pages.

R. O. RIVERA.

Duke University.

The Mexican Historical Novel, 1826-1910. By J. LLOYD READ. (New York: Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos, 1939. Pp. 337. \$2.60.)

It is scarcely necessary to state that during the last two decades the Mexican novel has developed remarkably and become at last an authentic expression of the spirit of nationality rapidly emerging below the Rio Grande. The vital force animating this literary movement, with its emphasis on indigenous themes and rejection of European influences, is communicating itself to the literature of other Hispanic countries, particularly those with similar racial and social backgrounds. Culturally independence of Europe is declared and

the end of the colonial era is at hand. Because of this evolution Dr. Read's survey of earlier manifestations of the novel, particularly the historical novel, is timely and illuminating.

This study consists of four substantial chapters with a few pages of conclusions and a bibliography. The first part deals with the remote and more immediate origins of the Mexican historical novel and includes a discussion of early chronicles as important sources of materials and attitudes. Some space might well have been given here to romances of chivalry in this connection since there are Mexicans living today who recall stories handed down by word of mouth which are traceable to these exotic tales read long after Cervantes' masterpiece had allegedly given them the *coup de grace*. Some seventeenth-century attempts at narrative prose are then listed, including the *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez* of Sigüenza y Góngora, and are, perhaps, too summarily dismissed as forerunners of the Mexican novel.

With the second long chapter the author's survey really begins. From the independence to the reform period or about 1850 he finds only four novels properly classifiable as historical: *Jicoténcal*, published anonymously in Philadelphia in 1826; *El misterioso* (1830) by Meléndez Muñoz; *La hija del judío* (1848-50) by Justo Sierra; and *El fístol del diablo* (1845) by Manuel Payno; and these, with some extraneous works, are analyzed. The third section is, in some respects, the most interesting as it discusses such better known writers of the second half of the nineteenth century as: Enrique Olavarría y Ferrari, who attempted a series of *Episodios nacionales* on the model of those of the great Spanish novelist, Pérez Galdós; Vicente Riva Palacio; Juan A. Mateos; and Ignacio Manuel Altamirano. It is regrettable that, in limiting himself to the purely historical novel, Dr. Read found it necessary to omit consideration of the most interesting if not the best of Altamirano's works, *El Zarco*. The last important chapter treats of the beginnings of realistic and naturalistic influences of European writers on Mexican novelists as manifested in *Los bandidos de Río Frío* of Payno, and the writings of Heriberto Frías, Victoriano Salado Álvarez, and others, and thus the record is brought to 1910.

Out of this survey Dr. Read comes to two interesting conclusions. He finds that the historical novels of Mexico may be divided into those romantic in character which derive their inspiration from the pre-conquest and colonial periods—the American equivalent of the Middle Ages from which European Romanticism sought its themes—and those drawing on contemporary history. More significant, perhaps, because of the contrast with European romantic novels, is the belief that Mexican writers of historical novels invariably offer both a note

of rebellion against despotism and an advocacy of social liberalism. If in matters of form Mexican novelists were unable to rise above mediocre imitation of European models, they were aware, nevertheless, of the fundamental nature of the struggle through which their country was passing when they wrote and some of the spirit of this conflict is reflected in their pages.

This survey of an important period in the development of the Mexican novel is stimulating and useful, and its author deserves praise for an able presentation of well digested material. With the present increasing interest in the literature of Mexico and Hispanic America this work will be a valuable reference, which fact makes the absence of an index particularly unfortunate. Throughout its pages the text is interrupted by Spanish quotations of varying length with translations in footnotes. For the general reader it would seem desirable to keep the text uniformly English, offering the specialist a check on the work by placing the original Spanish version in the notes. But such criticism is doubtless on the trivial side.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

Larchmont, N. Y.

The Day of the Liberals in Spain. By RHEA MARSH SMITH. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938. Pp. 333. \$3.50.)

This book records events which seem long past in the stormy history of contemporary Spain yet they occurred less than a decade ago. The tragedy of fratricidal strife and a bloody international war of ideologies has so distorted the perspective of time that the beginnings of the Second Republic and its promise of a new and modern Spain are now almost obscured. The present volume contains mainly the story of 1931 in Spanish annals, particularly the work of the *Cortes Constituyentes* in the elaboration of a fundamental law under which it was hoped Spaniards might become a united people under a liberal, progressive government. The first five chapters summarize those aspects of early Spanish history bearing more directly on the liberal revolution of 1931. Subsequent chapters describe the bloodless overthrow of the monarchy that year, the leaders and policies of the Provisional Government, and the election of the Constituent Cortes. The body of the book is then devoted to a detailed treatment, title by title and almost article by article, of the shaping of the new basic law of the land during the heated sessions of that legislative body from July until December, 1931. The acrimonious disputes and reluctant compromises of conflicting personalities and interests are

recounted with close fidelity to the day-by-day record and with complete subordination of whatever opinions the author might have held.

The appearance of this study is timely now that once again in the same decade Spain is called upon, though under vastly changed conditions, to determine the form of government by which the Spanish nation will live. The contrast of the two efforts within so short a time to rebuild Spain is sharp. In 1939 the people can not have so strong a voice in the determination of their future as in 1931, nor can the leaders of the more recent revolution speak as proudly as did Alcalá Zamora of the one of 1931 at the opening of the Constituent Cortes when he declared:

The government presents itself before you with hands clean of blood and cupidity. In the revolution we were so self-denying, so generous to our enemies, and in power we have been so serene in the maintenance of order, that the Spanish revolution has no spot of blood to be imputed to the men who made it and to the men who have governed it.

Because of the timeliness of this book already alluded to, one can not help regretting that Dr. Smith's work, prepared as a doctoral thesis at the University of Pennsylvania, was not adapted for the more general use of lay readers whose numbers recent events in Spain have caused to increase in this country. The commendable objectivity of the presentation is attained by making the account so factual that it becomes essentially a digest in English of the *Diario de sesiones de las cortes constituyentes de la república española* and similar sources. The ordinary reader is likely to become bogged down in the detail and find the reading so dull that he is tempted to turn to less reliable means of information written in a brisker style. And his interest is not increased by occasionally awkward translations of numerous quotations from speeches and statements, nor by the author's assumption that the lay reader is familiar with certain names and terms in the political and cultural history of modern Spain. Not every one consulting this book for enlightenment on recent things Spanish will know whether Galdós (mentioned once only, page 60) was a politician, man of letters, or something else, or what exactly was the "Generation of '98," and it would probably be safer to give a definition of *caciquismo* when first used. This study is so needed by the American public and is so attractively printed that it seems a pity that, after completing the manuscript as a doctoral dissertation, its use was not more fully "democratized," if one will permit the expression.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

Larchmont, N. Y.

International Bibliography of Historical Sciences, Eleventh year, 1936. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Zurich. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin; [etc., etc.], 1938. XXXIX, 449, [2] p.)

Little comment is needed in regard to the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*, now in its eleventh year of publication.

This excellent and useful compilation fitly exemplifies the possibilities of accomplishment in the bibliographical field by international efforts.

It is, as is generally known, a selective bibliography, based upon considerations of relative importance, excluding for the most part works of more local interest, those relating to interior political conditions, individual biographies and works of similar character.

Thus the choice of material, books and articles for the various sections is determined by a principle of strict, moderate, liberal or very liberal selection.

The present volume is similar in content and principles of selection to the preceding volume, containing 5,691 numbers, as compared with 5,910 in the 1935 issue.

It may not be amiss to note here certain changes in policy affecting future issues adopted at the meeting of the Commission held at Zurich, August 10, 1938. These are given in the Preface from which the following is quoted:

1. Without expressing any opinion on the juridical problems to which the position of the "Succession States" may give rise, the commission will take account exclusively of the actual situation in these States at particular times.

2. For reasons already given in preceding prefaces, historical work on the post-war period has been omitted from the surveys for the years 1935 and 1936. In future volumes the account of this work will form a separate section, Q, to follow the section P on History of International Relations. . . . In the next volume (XII), this new section will comprise references to the principal works which appeared in the years 1935 and 1936, as well as the work which appeared in 1937.

3. The list of the writings on the history of race, which are increasing in number in some countries, will henceforward be included in Section B, §5, under the revised title "Rassen- und Volkskunde."

In the preface is a statement that the editors will publish in 1939 a separate volume containing an index to the first ten volumes of the *International Bibliography*, and also, probably the same year, a "World List of Historical Periodicals and Bibliographies."

In view of the recognized usefulness of this important bibliographical tool, it seems unnecessary to attempt here a critical evaluation of its form and content.

To the present reviewer it seems, however, that its value would be enhanced by a discreet use of descriptive and possibly evaluative annotation to supplement the general principles upon which selection is based. Some help is afforded by translating into French titles in the less generally known languages, Polish, Hungarian, Russian, etc.

And a full list of abbreviations adopted might be included in each issue to facilitate use.

Personal and geographical indexes complete the volume.

It may be of interest to students of American history to note that under the heading America in the "Geographisches Register" are cited about 116 books and articles.

C. K. JONES.

Library of Congress.

Handbook of Latin American Studies. A selective guide to the material published in 1937 on Anthropology, Art, Economics, Education, Folklore, Geography, Government, History, International Relations, Law, Language, and Literature. By a number of scholars. Edited by LEWIS HANKE. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938. Pp. xv, [3], 635 [2]. \$4.00.)

One of the most difficult tasks confronting an editor of a book of this nature is the organization and coördination of the materials submitted. This problem has been faced with care and courage in the three volumes of the *Handbook* which have appeared. Especially is this third volume an improvement over the two previous ones, and the reviewer feels certain that most readers will agree that Dr. Hanke has presided over his task in a most satisfactory manner and that he has given us a selective guide of great usefulness.

There are, however, a few observations which the reviewer wishes to make concerning this edition of the *Handbook*. Several of the sections include an "Addenda" which contains works published earlier, some items having appeared several years previously. If this practice is continued, the Addenda sections may tend to become unwieldy because of the number of items.

In several instances the items listed in the *Handbook* are chapters in books, rather than the books themselves. To some persons this may seem a waste of space, and if carried too far it may become a serious problem both of selection and of justification.

In a review of the previous volume it was suggested that at the top of each page or double page should be placed the numbers of the first and last items on the page as a means of a more rapid location

of items when the index is used. This change has not yet been made although the reviewer understands that it was contemplated.

Because this guide is definitely selective the citation of omissions may seem pedantic. But the reviewer believes that the student would be benefited if the following English works (not to mention several in other languages) were included: G. A. Peabody, *South American Journals, 1858-1859*; M. Storm, *The Life of St. Rose*; The Royal Institute of International Affairs, *The Republics of South America*; A. V. Chávez, *Contemporary Mexican Art*; Carlos Chávez, *Toward a New Music*; L. G. Obregón, *The Streets of Mexico*; Edna W. Underwood, *The Poets of Haiti*; T. White, *Puerto Rico and its People*; D. M. McNicol, *The Amerindians*; H. U. Doering, *Old Peruvian Art*; J. C. Oswaldo, *Printing in the Americas*; J. D. Falconer, *The Gondwana System of Northeastern Uruguay*; G. Mason and R. Carroll, *Mexican Gallop*; Du Boise, *Skies and Andes*; and J. H. Jackson, *Notes on a Drum*.

Speaking of the differences between this volume and that for 1936, the editor says in his Introduction:

"In addition to the selections included last year, the present volume contains new sections on Brazilian Art and on Language (Spanish America), presided over by Robert C. Smith, Jr., and Leavitt O. Wright respectively. Other sections have been subdivided so that now M. B. Lourenço Filho is responsible for Brazilian items in the Education section, France V. Scholes looks after the South American part of the Spanish American Colonial History section, and Francisco Aguilera is the poetry editor in the Spanish American Literature section. Alfred Métraux is the new editor for South American Ethnology, and J. Lloyd Mecham is now co-editor of the section on government."

Not the least important part of the contents of the *Handbook* have been the special articles and notes. In this edition these occupy about a fourth of the space and deal especially with Brazil in commemoration of the centenary of the founding of the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, at Rio de Janeiro, to which organization this volume is properly dedicated.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

IIº Congreso Internacional de Historia de America (July 5-14, 1937).

Edited under direction of DR. RICARDO LEVENE. Vol. I, *Disertaciones, Discursos, Actas, y Resoluciones Generales del Congreso*. Vols. II, III, IV, and V, *Colaboraciones*. Vol. VI, *La Vida de Miranda*. (Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1938. Pp. 567; 623; 713; 743; 555; 486.)

The results of the labors of the Second International Congress of the History of America held in Buenos Aires, July 5-14, 1937, have been edited in six large tomes by the National Academy of History of Argentina under the direction of Ricardo Levene, its president. Governments and institutions of nineteen of the American States (except Haiti) named delegates. Eleven sessions, including the opening and closing of the Congress, were held at which forty-four addresses were made. At each regular session from four to six papers were presented as well as summaries by reporters on the vast number of essays which were submitted by historians who did not attend in person. In all, forty-five addresses were made, of which Argentina contributed twenty-four. Brazil, Chile, and Peru each presented three addresses; the United States, Mexico, Ecuador, Uruguay, and Bolivia, two each; and Paraguay and Venezuela, one each. The opening and closing sessions, including the special one at the National University of La Plata, were devoted to the following topics: History of Art; Literary History, Political and Economic History; Military and Naval History; and Numismatics; Methods of Teaching History; Philosophie, Scientific, and Religious History; Legal and Diplomatic History; Concept and Interpretation of History; Sources of American History: Archives, Museums, and Libraries.

The addresses and papers presented in the sessions covered a wide range of historical interest. The text of these form the bulk of the first volume of the series. In addition, it contains a report on the organization of the Congress, accounts of the receptions tendered to members, minutes of the sessions, resolutions adopted by the Congress, and communications from various organizations and individuals approving of these resolutions. Volume two contains the papers submitted to the Congress on political history; volume three, on legal, economic, philosophical, scientific, religious, artistic, and literary history; volume four, on diplomatic, social, military, and naval history; and volume five, on the concept and interpretation of history, methods of teaching history, and numismatics. All papers in languages other than Spanish have been translated into this language. At the end of each group of papers there is a summary of them which the reporters appointed by the Congress made and read in the regular

sessions. The great number of papers presented indicates the interest which was taken in the Congress. In amount, naturally, political history surpasses the other fields. Volume two, devoted to this phase, contains 52 papers, of which 25 relate to the colonial period and 27 to the period since independence. Twenty-seven of the essays deal with Argentinian subjects, of which two are by Americans, two by a Uruguayan, and the remainder by Argentinians. Of the four papers relating to the United States, one is by an Argentinian and three by Americans. The remainder of the papers deal with subjects relating to the country of the author. While the papers are interesting of themselves and reveal much research in political history, they do not form a well-rounded whole and are simply an indication of some of the varied activities of historical scholars of the several countries in this field of study.

Volumes three and four contain 57 and 34 papers respectively in the fields indicated above. These essays deal with Latin America, but four of the latter volume involve relations of the United States with Latin America. In volumes two, three, and four all essays deal with Spanish South America except 18; of this latter number four papers are on Brazilian subjects and the remainder relate to other parts of the Americas. The 46 papers of volume five are more general in character. Finally, volume six presents a Spanish translation by Julio E. Payró of the classic work of Dr. W. S. Robertson, *The Life of Miranda* (Chapel Hill, 1929).

Many interesting articles are included in these volumes, but to list the more outstanding ones would unduly extend this review. Obviously, they are especially valuable as a contribution to the Argentine viewpoint on historical writing. The format and printing are of excellent character and serve to bring credit to the National Academy of History and to the Government of Argentina which sponsored the Congress.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

Spanish Personal Names: Principles Governing their Formation and Use which may be Presented as a Help for Catalogers and Bibliographers. By CHARLES F. GOSNELL. [Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association Publications, Series I, Volume 3.] (Washington: Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, 1938. Pp. xi, 112.)

Spanish personal names constitute one of the very difficult problems faced by catalogers and bibliographers. This book, originally

prepared as a Master's thesis at Columbia University, serves as a practical guide for those who must enter Spanish names in catalogs, indexes, or bibliographies. It gives the historical background and the principles underlying the formation of such names, compares the rules for them in catalog codes, and discusses the sources for their verification. In the conclusion a proposed rule for entry of Spanish names is given which indicates that, even with this very useful book in hand, the problem of entering Spanish names is still a difficult one which requires a thorough knowledge of the Spanish language for proper solution.

A translation of a statement about Portuguese names by Esteves Pereira is given in Appendix II, followed in Appendix III by a discussion of the alphabetizing of Spanish names. One of the most useful features of the book is the thirteen-page bibliography in Appendix IV in which the items of particular value as sources for establishing names are checked.

The book should be of great assistance to those for whom it is designed. It has been carefully compiled and clearly written.

JOHN R. RUSSELL.

The National Archives.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States. Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860. Selected and arranged by WILLIAM R. MANNING. Vol. IX, *Mexico, 1848- (Mid-year) 1860.* Vol. X, *The Netherlands, Paraguay and Peru.* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1937; 1938. Pp. xlv, 1251; xxv, 913. \$5.00 each.)

Volume IX of this series contains the second part of the Mexican correspondence. The first part appeared in Volume VIII, which has already been noticed in the REVIEW. Both are bulky tomes. The total number of pages, 2,357, is a measure of Mexico's prominence in the diplomatic relations of the United States. Central America, taken as a whole, comes next in importance with 1,552 pages, while countries like Argentina and Brazil sink into relative insignificance with 789 and 428 pages, respectively. Geography and history, that is, proximity and a train of events, combined to give Mexico its first place. Of the significance of the first factor, Thomas Jefferson was aware as early as 1787, when he wrote: "However distant we may be, both in condition and dispositions, from taking an active part in any commotions in that country, nature has placed it too near us to make its movements altogether indifferent to our interests or to our curiosity." When these words were written Louisiana lay between the two coun-

tries. By acquiring it, Jefferson himself set the train of events in motion. The occupation of the new territory, the overflow into Texas, the independence of that province, its annexation to the United States, war, fresh acquisitions at the expense of Mexico—these were the momentous consequences of the initial act of expansion. So much of the record of these events as falls between the middle of 1831 and the middle of 1848 is included in volume VIII. The rest, to the end of 1860, swells the pages of volume IX.

Conditions after the peace of Guadalupe Hidalgo were not altogether favorable to the establishment of cordial relations between the two countries. The United States was intoxicated with success, Mexico embittered by failure. In the circumstances it is not strange that the intercourse between them should have been marked by an offensive aggressiveness on the one hand and a caviling resistance on the other. This was particularly true along the new frontier, where every point of contact was a point of irritation. The multitude of incidents which arose along this front could have been settled under happier conditions by local authorities. As it was, cattle stealing, banditry, abduction, and murder occupied undeservedly pages and pages of the diplomatic record. Nor were petty cases of smuggling, alleged violations of territory by forces of the law in pursuit of evildoers, mistreatment of the citizens of one country by the citizens or officers of the other, personal insults, or even mere misbehavior on one side or the other too trivial for the diplomatic pen. Yet the border was the scene also of incidents of really serious import. Indian incursions, usually from the United States into Mexico but occasionally from Mexico into the United States, gave rise to interchanges which occupy space in the volume with better cause. Finally, the filibustering expeditions, which originated in Texas and California and took effect in the northern states of Mexico, were the subject of just complaint on the part of the Mexican government. Of all the correspondence relating to the border, this is the most significant. And it is the most interesting. It seems to show, incidentally, that whatever remissness the United States may have been guilty of in this connection does not attach to the State Department nor to its agents in Mexico.

Not all, to be sure, was complaint and remonstrance. Negotiation finds an even more conspicuous place within the covers of this ponderous volume. At the bottom of it was the desire of the United States to obtain additional territory and other valuable concessions at the hands of Mexico. The "rectification" of the boundary by means of the Gadsen treaty, regarding which the correspondence is extensive, was not enough. The United States proposed to draw the

line still further south to include the whole of Lower California and substantial parts of Sonora and Chihuahua. That Mexico should have been willing to discuss such a proposal at all, can only be accounted for by its disturbed political conditions and its desperate financial straits. The same situation, doubtless, explains the prolonged negotiations regarding the route of transit across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The Gadsen treaty contained a provision conceding the right of transit. All the subsequent negotiations were intended to confirm, extend and render more specific that provision. In retrospect, it seems odd that this subject should have occupied so much of the time of the two governments. In addition to these larger subjects of negotiation, there were others relating to loans, claims, and the like, which make their contribution to the inordinate size of the volume.

The reports of the United States agents in Mexico on the conditions prevailing in that unhappy country during the period under consideration are most interesting. Among the reporters were men—James Gadsen, John Forsyth, and Robert M. McLane, for example—who were well qualified by experience and native intelligence to penetrate beneath the surface of things. With varying degrees of effectiveness, they kept their government enlightened regarding the constantly shifting political scene. It was due to them that Washington could appraise the regime of Santa Anna, could grasp the significance of the movement resulting in his overthrow, could comprehend the power of domestic institutions and foreign influence, could follow with sympathy the career of Benito Juárez, and finally could take its stand so unhesitatingly with him against foreign intervention. It is to this period, the year or two immediately preceding the intervention, that one must look for the first signs of a new era in the relations between the United States and Mexico. It was then that we got the first glimmering of an understanding that the genuine welfare of Mexico is a matter of the deepest concern to our own peace and happiness.

Volume X includes the correspondence of the Netherlands, Paraguay, and Peru. Here for the first time in the series, the chance of the alphabet has brought together groups of unrelated papers. Not only are the countries from which they emanate widely separated, but the subjects with which they deal are wholly diverse. Yet they are not altogether devoid of a principle of unity, since all alike serve to elucidate or enliven subjects broached in earlier volumes of the series. In this consists the whole value of the Netherlands correspondence; for that country, apart from a slight participation in schemes for inter-oceanic communication, played no rôle in New World affairs.

Its capital merely served as a listening post for the State Department. And as the listeners were keen of ears and not too stilted of pen, their reports make lively reading, indeed. These reports, it is worth noting, are concerned almost exclusively with the attitude of certain European powers toward the questions of Texas and the Mexican War.

The correspondence of Paraguay is concerned with questions arising out of its intercourse with the United States. It is limited in amount, since diplomatic relations between the two countries did not really begin until 1845. Among the subjects discussed were the recognition of Paraguay as an independent state, navigation of the Paraguay River, claims of American citizens, and the provisions of a general treaty of friendship and commerce. Bits here and there throw light on the affairs of Argentina and Brazil and to a less extent on continental affairs. The Peruvian correspondence is more extensive and more varied. It deals at length with a number of questions upon which we have had little or no information hitherto in the series, such as the Lobos and Chinha islands controversies, claims arising out of the seizure by Peru of the American vessels *Lizzie Thompson* and *Georgiana*, internal conditions of the country, treaty negotiations, and the like. It deals scarcely less fully with a number of old subjects, that is, subjects introduced in earlier volumes, among which may be mentioned the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, the most-favored-nation clause, navigation of the Amazon, intrigues of Juan José Flores, European influences, and schemes for continental union. All in all the volume is an important addition to the series.

JOSEPH B. LOCKEY.

University of California,
Los Angeles.

Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1923.

2 vols. (Washington: Department of State, 1938. Pp. cxi, 973; cxix, 1283.)

The two volumes under review contain more than two thousand pages of diplomatic correspondence and related documents covering important aspects of the foreign policy of the United States during 1923. The work was compiled under the capable direction of Dr. Cyril Wynne, Chief of the Division of Research and Publication, and Dr. Ernest R. Perkins of the same division.

The voluminous scope of these volumes precludes any detailed discussion of their contents. Of outstanding interest, however, is the section, comprising approximately half of volume one, entitled "General." Here are included documents relating to the proposed adher-

ence of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice, the question of increasing gun elevation on capital ships, arms and munitions control, revision of rules of warfare, adoption by the United States of an unconditional most-favored-nation policy in the negotiation of new commercial treaties, liquor smuggling and the right to search foreign vessels in marginal seas.

Indicative of the importance of American relations with China is the fact that more than one third of volume one is devoted to correspondence covering efforts of the United States and other powers to protect life and property there and to maintain their treaty rights during a year of intense civil strife.

Of special interest to students of Latin-American affairs are the extensive documentary sections covering the states of Central and South America. Under this heading are included the texts of conventions between the United States and other American republics for the protection of commercial, industrial and agricultural trade-marks; agreements between the United States and Central American republics for the establishment of international commissions of inquiry; correspondence and exchange of notes with Brazil according mutual unconditional most-favored-nation treatment; the failure of Costa Rica to ratify an agreement with the United States concerning an interoceanic canal; disapproval by the Department of State of certain proposed loans by American bankers to Guatemala; the recognition of General Obregón's government in Mexico; a detailed correspondence with Panama relative to the intention of the United States to terminate the Taft agreement; and finally the opening of the Tacna-Arica arbitration and the exchange of cases by Chile and Peru.

The compilers of *Foreign Relations* for 1923 are to be congratulated on what appears to be an adequate selection of significant documents.

PAUL HIBBERT CLYDE.

Duke University.

BOOK NOTICES

FIVE TRAVEL BOOKS RELATING TO HISPANIC-AMERICAN HISTORY¹

The House in Antigua. A Restoration. By LOUIS ADAMIC. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1937. Pp. x, 300. Illus. \$3.00.)

When friends told Louis Adamic about the beautiful and romantic aspects of Guatemala, he decided to pay that country a visit. Especially he wanted to visit Antigua, which Aldous Huxley called "one of the most romantic cities in the world." In this ancient town was "The Popenoe Place," a restored three-hundred-year-old house, owned by Wilson Popenoe, an American botanist connected with the United Fruit Company. To this house the author went and there he stayed for some days in the winter of 1936 and 1937. The result of the visit is this engaging book. Studying the building and its history the author delves into the historic past of the country and produces a biography of a house in the characteristic Adamic style. At the same time he has written an account of Mr. Popenoe and his wife whose *Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala* (Cambridge, 1933) will be remembered as appearing after her untimely death. In the story which he develops here, Mr. Adamic sees a symbol of the whole movement of humanity, with which his readers may or may not agree. The book is beautifully illustrated.

Notes on a Drum. Travel Sketches in Guatemala. By JOSEPH JACKSON. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. Pp. xii, 276. Illus. \$3.00.)

Several Americans, fearing no doubt that the extension of the Pan-American highway into Guatemala in the near future may ruin that country's picturesque population, have hastened to record their impressions of its people and places. Among these recent writers are Edna Fergusson, Agnes Rothery, and Louis Adamic. And now comes Mr. Joseph Jackson's *Notes on a Drum*. The author has tried to do for this Central American country what he did for its neighbor, Mexico, in his *Mexican Interlude* (New York, 1936). With his wife Mr. Jackson went to Guatemala and made copious notes of sights and

¹ Notices by A. C. W.

sounds, people and places. The resultant book is a travel account in prose and picture which is not out of the ordinary and which is sometimes naïve, but always well written and excellently illustrated.

Off with their Heads. By VICTOR WOLFGANG VON HAGEN. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. Pp. iv, 220. Illus. \$3.00.)

Those who wish a guide to headhunting among the Jívaro Indians of Ecuador may read this offering of Wolfgang von Hagen with profit. But after reading it, probably no one will care to repeat the author's experiences in the jungles and mountains along the upper reaches of the Río Marañón. However, the book is of value to ethnologists, scientists, sociologists, and nature-lovers. And for those who wish to practice the art of head-shrinking there are full details. The author, who is a scientist and traveler born in the United States, speaks with authority, for he went on a head-hunting expedition. The book is interesting, exciting, and well illustrated.

Those Wild West Indies. By EDMUND S. WHITMAN. (New York: Sheridan House, 1938. Pp. 316. Illus.)

Years ago a minister, G. L. Morrill, wrote a book (among others) damning the people of Central America and calling their countries *Rotten Republics*. Another smart and racy volume, although on a much higher level, is *Those Wild West Indies*. The volume deals with the people and scenery of Central America, Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica, and several smaller islands, and is based on experiences of some fifteen years' residence and travel in the Caribbean area. The author, an amateur archaeologist and professional traveler, is connected with the United Fruit Company and has several other books to his credit including *Guilty in the Tropics*, *No Minor Vices*, and *Green Empire*. He not only covers the water front in these countries, but he gets into the interior of the country and into the homes of the people. He writes as he pleases and calls a spade a spade. The publishers claim that this is the only book written in the past twenty years "by someone who really knew" the region. Certainly it shows how some white men in the tropics act under the influence of heat, humidity, and highballs.

Transgressor in the Tropics. By NEGLEY FARSON. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1938. Pp. 305. Map. \$2.50.)

This is another story of a professional traveler and writer who went to South America for the first time and who has tried to record his opinions about what he saw and heard. By water, land, and air

he journeyed from Barbados to Curaçao, Barranquilla, the Isthmus, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and back to the United States. He interviewed persons from the presidents down and he recorded his observations about history, politics, society, and life in general in a pithy, interesting manner. The book is not an exceptional one, but it is above the average as a travel account.

* * *

Wave of the Gulf. By JESSE A. ZIEGLER. (San Antonio: The Naylor Co., 1938. Pp. xvi, 354. Illus. \$3.50.)

A publishing company which has attracted considerable attention in the past few years is The Naylor Co., of San Antonio, Texas. Dozens of recent works on history, biography, political science, anthropology, etc., from its press are worthy of notice. One of the latest volumes to appear, *Wave of the Gulf* will be found of interest to students of the Southwest and of Mexican-United States relations. The book has been well described as "Ziegler's scrapbook of the Texas Gulf coast country," and it deals with the period from 1824 to 1938. With the idea in mind that each generation in Texas has produced an epic of human interest, the author, who is "the oldest cotton man in Texas" (b. 1857), began several years ago to write about incidents in Texas history. His first book was *When Texas Was Young* (1936). This work is of the same pattern, containing interesting short stories and sketches based upon history and tradition and classified under the headings "Houston," "Tales of the coast country," "Historical sketches," and "Biographical sketches."—A. C. W.

Conferencias internacionales americanas, 1889-1936; recopilación de los tratados, convenciones, recomendaciones, resoluciones y mociones adoptadas por las siete primeras conferencias internacionales americanas, la Conferencia Internacional de Conciliación y Arbitraje y la Conferencia Interamericana de Consolidación de la Paz; con varios documentos relativos a la organización de las referidas conferencias. Preface by LEO S. ROWE. Introduction by JAMES BROWN SCOTT. (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1938. Pp. lviii, 746.)

In 1931 the Carnegie Endowment published an English version of the conventions, recommendations, reports, and motions adopted by the first six International American Conferences, together with a compilation of the agreements and resolutions adopted by various of the technical Pan-American conferences celebrated between the years 1889 and 1930. Since then, the Seventh International American Con-

ference, held at Montevideo in 1933, and the Inter-American Conference for the Consolidation of Peace, held at Buenos Aires in December, 1936, have passed into history. In this Spanish edition, materials relating to the two conferences above mentioned and an enlarged introduction by Dr. Scott have been published. The documents will facilitate a study of the various conferences. At p. 690 is a list of the treaties and conventions signed in the various conferences, revised to May 24, 1938. The indexes are unusually full. The volume will be found useful in the fields of history and international law.

Proceedings of the First Convention of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association. (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1938.)

This is Vol. I of Series II of the Association. Papers were read as follows:

- Behrendt, Richard A. A Plea for the Study of Latin-American Economic and Social Problems.
- Blackwell, Alice Stone. Some Spanish-American Poets.
- Boggs, Ralph Steele. The Biography of a Spanish Folklore Bibliography.
- Carlson, F. A. Bibliographical and Library Problems in Geographical Research Concerning Latin America.
- Childs, James B. Bibliography of Official Publications and Administrative Systems in Latin American Countries.
- Connor, R. D. W. Archival Problems.
- Cox, Isaac Joslin. Some of Chile's Historians as viewed by their Fellow Craftsman.
- d'Eça, Raul. International Copyright Protection in the Americas.
- Fleissus, Max. A Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro.
- Jones, C. K. Problems in Hispanic-American Bibliography.
- Means, Philip Ainsworth. Some Research Experiences in Libraries here and in other Countries.
- Monroy, Fr. Joel R. Discurso sobre la época colonial.
- Monteiro de França Sobrinho, Luiz. Biblioteca Calisto Norbrega.
- Portell Vilá, Herminio. Libraries and Archives in Cuba.
- Robertson, James A. In praise of Book and Bibliographer.
- Severance, Henry O. Fields of Library and Bibliographical Investigations open to American Scholars in Latin America.
- Sevilla, Carlos B. Casa de Montalvo.
- Steck, Francis Borgia. Discussion of Professor Whitaker's Paper.
- Valle, Rafael Heliodoro. La riqueza bibliográfica de América.
- Watters, Mary. Conversión en Píritu and some other ecclesiastical writings of colonial Venezuela.
- Whitaker, Arthur P. Some remarks on the *Noticias Secretas de América*.
- Wright, Irene A. Problems of a research student in the Archives of the Indies in Seville.

The papers of Jones, Valle, Boggs, Carlson, Childs, Portell Vilá, Wright, d'Eça, and Roscoe R. Hill's comments on Miss Wright's paper, commend themselves to careful reading.

George Augustus Peabody: South American Journals, 1858-1859.

Edited by JOHN CHARLES PHILLIPS. (Salem: Peabody Museum, 1937. Pp. xvi, 209. Illus.)

Peabody and three other men, under Captain Robert B. Forbes, left Boston in November, 1858, in the brig *Nankin*, accompanied by a schooner-yacht. Peabody's journal of this expedition, really scientific in spirit, is the best account. On pp. 203-209, however, is an account by another member, Curdon Saltonstall. Since the eighteenth century scientific expeditions have been the occasion of some of the most valuable documents on the cultural and social history of Hispanic America. In this welcome work there are descriptions not only of birds and animals but of people and customs.

Outpost of Empire: The Story of San Francisco. By H. E. BOLTON. (New York: Alfred E. Knopf. Second edition, 1939.)

Professor Bolton's work, originally printed in 1931, has gone into a second printing. A review of this excellent volume by Alfred Barnaby Thomas will be found in this REVIEW for February, 1933 (Vol. XVIII, No. 1), pp. 79-81. The price of the work as first printed was \$5.00, and of the reprinted form, \$2.75. The book is one that no person could better write than Dr. Bolton because of the latter's long-standing knowledge of the subject. The second printing can be construed as an evidence of the sterling quality of the work. The book is not likely to be superseded by that of any other writer.

Excavations at Chametla, Sinaloa. By ISABEL T. KELLY. No. 14 of the *Ibero-Americana* series, edited by C. A. Sauer, H. E. Bolton, and A. L. Kroeber. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938. Pp. vii, 109. Illus. \$1.25.)

This is an excellent contribution to the archeology of the region above named, and the text is elucidated by twenty-two plates, twenty-seven text illustrations, and a map of Chametla and vicinity. Until the expedition which resulted in the writing of this volume, little or no archeological work had been done in Sinaloa. The volume is the report of three weeks' digging in the vicinity of Chametla. "The project sponsored by the Institute of Social Service, was under the general direction of A. L. Kroeber and Carl Sauer, with field work in charge of Isabel Kelly, assisted by F. S. Hulse." The work will

be of interest not only to archaeologists, but to sociologists and economists, and perhaps also to historians.

Modern Mayan Houses: A Study of their archaeological Significance.

By ROBERT WAUCHOPE. (Washington: [Publication No. 502 of the] Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939. Pp. vii, 181. Plates 37. Text illus. Paper, \$3.00; cloth, \$3.50.)

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has added another contribution of note to its studies of the modern Maya, which was undertaken as an aid in evaluating the ancient Maya. The study "was undertaken in 1934 for the purpose of collecting data to facilitate interpretation of ancient dwelling sites (p. 1)"; and as a study of modern Maya house-types was initiated at the suggestion of Dr. A. V. Kidder. The author has collected many data on the modern houses and draws some interesting comparisons of the modern sites and houses with what is known of the ancient ones. The work will be especially interesting to students of Mexican (Mayan) archeology. It is a factual study carefully made.

Land of Tomorrow. By R. W. THOMPSON. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937. Pp. 459. Illus. \$4.50.)

The author, an Englishman, has described his experiences in Uruguay, Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil. A chapter and an appendix on the War of the Chaco are included. The treatment of this question shows a marked sympathy with Paraguay, but an effort has been made to appraise the conflict objectively. The history of Paraguayan warfare so far has depended largely upon foreign journals and recollections. These personal reminiscences, therefore, will be fitted into a traditional niche.

New Lamps for Old in Latin America. By LESLIE BYRD SIMPSON. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938. Pp. 24.)

This lecture has been reprinted from *The Civilization of the Americas* (University of California Press). It was one of the lectures arranged by the Committee on International Relations of the University of California at Los Angeles. Dr. Simpson's paper was delivered on April 4, 1938. He devotes himself to the agricultural factor and limits his remarks to Mexico, Yucatán, and Guatemala.

Conqueror of the Seas. The Story of Magellan. By STEFAN ZWEIF. (New York: The Viking Press, 1938. Pp. xvi, 335. Illus. Map. \$3.50.)

This book resulted from the author's meditations, while on a voyage to South America, on the subject of the hardships of sixteenth-

century seamen, and it was inspired in part by his general lack of knowledge about these seamen and especially about Magellan. Having once decided to enlighten himself on the subject, the author set about looking up the facts in a variety of sources. The result is this interesting book, which few could have made more fascinating, but which displays everywhere the author's admiration for his hero. Naturally many of the facts are based upon Pigafetta's account, for he was an eye-witness, so that Zweig has been able to add little to the story but imagination. Nevertheless, he has tried to put himself in Magellan's place, and his opinions are, therefore, of interest.—A. C. W.

The Folk-dances of the Spanish Colonies of New Mexico. Compiled and edited by AURORA LUCERO-WHITE. (n.p., 1937. Pp. 46. Illus. \$1.25.)

A recent contribution to Hispanic-American colonial history of the Southwest is this short treatment of folk-dances. It is compiled and edited by Aurora Lucero-White, the music is transcribed by Eunice Hauskins, and the patterns and descriptions are by Helene Marceau. The book contains music and dance diagrams for nine types of dances. There is a glossary of terms used. A brief introduction gives the historical background of the Spanish colonial dance in New Mexico and in Old Mexico. The compiler has shown the origin of certain dances and the influence of Polish immigrants upon them.—A. C. W.

The Kingdom of St. Francis in Arizona. By the REV. MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M. (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1939. Pp. 55, [1].)

This small pamphlet is from the same pen as *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida* (Washington, 1937) which has been favorably reviewed in numerous periodicals. Beginning with Fray Marcos de Niza, the Franciscan exploration and mission efforts in Arizona are briefly recited down to the present day. The pamphlet is rather for the reader who wishes reliable information covering the Franciscans in Arizona than for the historian who naturally desires a fuller account. There is little that is new in the recital, but it is written in an interesting manner and will doubtless have a wide reading.

Apuntes para la Historia de la Nueva Vizcaya: No. 1, La Conquista. By ATANASIO G. SARAVIA. (Mexico: Instituto Panamericana de Geografia e Historia [Publicación no. 35], 1939. Pp. 293.)

This volume is a study of sixteenth-century colonization in Mexico. The first chapters deal with the Spanish background of the con-

quest. Holding the thesis that each conquest was based on a preceding one, the author discusses the Spanish occupation of the Caribbean Islands, Cortés and the conquest of Mexico, and the founding and settlement of Nueva Galicia. After this introductory matter the volume presents in detail the events in the conquest of Nueva Vizcaya from 1554 to 1600. This period of the making of the province was really the work of the first conquistador, Francisco de Ibarra (although he died in 1575) and his companions and successors, especially Diego de Ibarra and Rodrigo del Río de la Loza. Details of the various expeditions to Nueva Vizcaya as well as those from there to New Mexico and Coahuila and some account of the work of the Franciscans and Jesuits are given. The final chapter is a résumé of the work of Ibarra.—R. R. H.

Revelaciones de Antaño. By EDUARDO PICÓN LARES. (Caracas: Editorial Elite, 1938. Pp. 284.)

The author of this interesting and delightfully written volume was appointed director of the National Archive in October, 1938. The work consists of historical essays relating to Mérida, Venezuela, the native city of the writer. These give the historical background of various traditions and legends of the region, relate the history of revolutionary battles, the introduction of modern conveniences, the progress of education, and other little-known events in the life of a city, and present pen sketches of many local characters.—R. R. H.

Libro Blanco. Cuestión de Belice. (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1938. Pp. 491. Maps.)

The Government of Guatemala has now presented its case against Great Britain in an effort to annex Belize by negotiation. The volume deals with the controversy between Guatemala and Great Britain relative to the Convention of 1859 on territorial matters. It contains texts of treaties, conventions, and other documents antecedent to the Convention of 1859, documents regarding negotiations since that date, a study of the juridical condition of the boundary question and its consequences, and citations from numerous publications, although the bulk of the material has been taken from Major Sir John Alder Burdon, *Archives of British Honduras*, 3 vols., London, 1931-1935. The sixteen maps are reproductions of published maps covering the region in question. The volume has also been issued in English under the title *White Book, Belize Question*.—R. R. H.

En la Antigua Ciudad de Santiago. By PEDRO PÉREZ VALENZUELA. (Guatemala: Unión Tipográfica, 1938. Pp. 188.)

The distinguished Guatemalan newspaperman here presents a short collection of essays on Guatemalan colonial history. The stories recounted are an aid in the interpretation of colonial life.—R. R. H.

List of Doctoral Dissertations in History now in Progress at American Universities. Edited by MARGARET WILLGOOSE HARRISON. (Washington: Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution, December, 1938. Pp. 66.)

Dissertations relative to Latin America and the West Indies are listed on pp. 26, 28, Nos. 406-462. Nos. 320 and 653, though classified under other sections, have a bearing on Hispanic-American history, as is true of other titles in the list. Titles relative to Spain and Portugal are listed on p. 30 (Nos. 486-490).

Elogio del Lcdo. Roque E. Garrigo y Salido. By JOAQUÍN LLAVERÍAS Y MARTÍNEZ. (Havana: Imp. "El Siglo XX," A. Muniz y Hno., 1938. Pp. 40.)

The author of this eulogy is archivist of the Academia de la Historia de Cuba. It is as one of the publications of the Academy that this paper appears. Garrigo y Salido was born December 26, 1876, and died recently after a full life as a scholar.

El Indio. By GREGORIO LÓPEZ Y FUENTES. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1937. Pp. 256. Illus. \$2.50.)

This rather celebrated novel is translated by Anita Brenner and illustrated by Diego Rivera. The author was born in the State of Vera Cruz. He is still in his thirties but already enjoys a reputation as an important Mexican writer and newspaper man, having been awarded the National Prize of Literature for this novel. The story here told has its setting in a remote mountain village with the nameless villagers as the chief actors. The scope of action extends from the days when the first white men came to the region seeking gold to the day when the white man came to play politics. The whole gamut of Indian history, thought, and action is given within the covers of this unique novel, while the impact of the white race against the native race is clearly and skilfully portrayed. No student of Mexican affairs should fail to read this volume.—A. C. W.

The Muster Roll and Equipment of the Expedition of Francisco Vásquez Coronado. Bulletin No. XXX of the William L. Clements Library. Translated and edited by ARTHUR S. AITON. (Ann Arbor: William L. Clements Library, 1939. Pp. 28.)

Dr. Aiton has taken the occasion of the approach of the fourth centenary of Coronado's famous expedition to publish this document in English. The immediate occasion was the meeting of the Institute of Latin-American Studies this summer at Ann Arbor where the William L. Clements Library arranged a special Coronado exhibit. A limited number of this document will be supplied upon request by Dr. Randolph G. Adams, Custodian of the William L. Clements Library.

NOTES AND COMMENT

PASTORAL SOCIETY ON THE PAMPA

Settlement in the Plata region differed from that in Mexico and in Peru.¹ There were no sedentary Indian people who could be made to do the work that Spaniards found disagreeable; there were no rich Indian civilizations to loot; there were no mines with promise of fabulous wealth. Spaniards who settled in the Plata lands had raised either livestock or agricultural crops, and they had to do the work themselves. The Indians were untrained, uncoöperative, actively unfriendly.

¹ It is difficult to present a satisfactory bibliographical list for the material of this paper. Its items were collected from literally hundreds of books and articles. These items were widely scattered, constantly repeated. General descriptive works by contemporary travellers were those found to be most useful. These descriptions were relatively late, due to Spanish inhospitality to visiting foreigners.

For the earliest descriptions of pastoral society, see such works as those by Félix de Azara—"Apuntamientos para la historia natural de los cuadrúpedos del Paraguay y Río de la Plata," in Argentine Republic, Ministerio de agricultura, *Anales*, Buenos Aires, 1900, pp. 1-18 and "Geografía física y esférica de las provincias del Paraguay y Misiones Guaraníes (1790)," in Montevideo, Museo nacional, *Anales del museo de Montevideo*, I, 11-468, Montevideo, 1904.

For accounts of conditions around 1825, see Captain Joseph Andrews, *Journey from Buenos Aires through the provinces of Córdoba, Tucumán, and Salta, to Potosí* (London, 1827), Lieutenant Charles Brand, *Journal of a voyage to Peru; a passage across the Cordillera of the Andes, in the winter of 1827, performed on foot in the snow; and a journey across the pampas* (London, 1828), Samuel Haigh, *Sketches of Buenos Aires, Chile, and Peru* (London, 1831), John Miers, *Travels in Chile and La Plata* (London, 1826), and Robert Proctor, *Narrative of a journey across the Cordillera of the Andes and of a residence in Lima and other parts of Peru in the years 1823 and 1824* (London, 1825).

The mid-century period was treated by Friedrich Wilhelm Christian Gerstaecker, *Narrative of a journey round the world* (New York, 1853), Thomas Joseph Hutchinson, *Buenos Aires and Argentine gleanings: with extracts from a diary of Salado exploration in 1862 and 1863* (London, 1865), Paolo Mantegazza, *Viajes por el Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1916. 1 ed., 1867), Thomas Jefferson Page, *La Plata, the Argentine Confederation, and Paraguay* (London, 1859), and Woodbine Parish, *Buenos Aires and the provinces of the Río de la Plata* (London, 1852).

The works of Alberto Zum Felde, *Proceso histórico del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1930), and Angel Scalabrini, *Sul Rio della Plata* (Como, 1894), reflect the conditions in the late nineteenth century.

It was only in 1580, after Juan de Garay had noted herds of wild horses on the plains, that settlers could be lured into an interest in his new towns. Cattle, brought for the settlement of those towns and the even more considerable numbers sent over as aid from the kindly sister city of Córdoba, multiplied rapidly, and served as a further inducement to colonization. Fortunately, survival on the pampa was comparatively easy if one could avoid antagonistic Indians. The climate was not unduly harsh to a hardy pioneer; sheltering huts could easily be made from materials at hand; horses could be caught and trained to carry one from place to place; cows could be lassoed for steak. Under such conditions the Spaniard reverted to a primitive, but pleasantly independent, frontier life.

The extent of the dependence of this early La Plata society upon the horse and cow is not generally realized. One has to note the many and varied uses of these animals in order to comprehend their importance. First, there was the matter of food, clothing, and shelter. Both Spaniard and Indian came to live almost exclusively on steak, with the slight difference that Spanish steak came from a cow, while Indian steak was preferably from a mare. As medicine, fat was most favored. It was deemed especially useful, taken internally and in hot water, for aid in combating colds and coughs. Such clothing as was worn, was often of hide; in fact, there were occasions when mosquitoes were reported to eat through everything else! Certainly, even under ordinary circumstances, the Spaniard wore his *botas de potro*, or boots made from the hide stripped from the legs of either horse or cow. Even cattle on occasion are reported to have worn hide shoes. Bayo tells how, when cattle were to be driven up the mountains to a northern market, they were either shod or, as was the more usual procedure, layers of hide were wrapped around their hoofs and fastened with strips of hide.² For shelter, both Spaniard and Indian utilized dried hides. Indian *rancherías* were made of horse hides; the doors of Spanish huts and, on occasion, even the sides and roofs, were of hide.

Such furniture as the early settlers had also originated in either horse or cow. Hides made the bed on which the Spaniard lay; his coverlet was a hide. Spanish babies swung in their hide cribs. Benches were made from hides stretched on frames, or they were replaced by the simpler cattle skull tools. Bullock tallow and mare's grease were used for light; bones, as candelabra. Hides served occasionally as plates; horns, as drinking cups. In a land lacking fuel, fires for cooking and for warmth were made from dung, bones, and

² Ciro Bayo, *Por la América desconocida*, Madrid, n.d. "Indios pampas, Gauchos y Collas," p. 71.

fat. In the house, bones served as the stakes on which Spanish equipment might be hung.

That equipment, as well, was of hide—the saddle, the bridle; reins, traces, and lasso were of twisted thongs. The *bolas*, most formidable of weapons, were stones wrapped in hide and connected by strips of hide. Ropes and cords were of strips of hide; the bags in which things were carried or kept were of hide, and they were sewn with strips of hide; grain was preserved in cribs of hide swinging from stakes and protected by a hide shelter. Boats, or *balsas*, were made of hide. Corrals were usually made of stakes bound with thongs, though there are records of slightly more artistic fences made of neat piles of the blanched skulls of cattle and horses, with horns forming a decorative motif rhythmically repeated. Hinchliff tells of a dike protecting the land from the encroachments of the Riachuelo River by a wall composed of thousands of skulls of cattle patched with sod or turf.³

Hides were used to strengthen things. Carriages were prepared by soaking hides and then cutting them into long strips. The poles, as also almost all the wood-work of the carriage, were firmly bound with the wet hide, which, when dry, would shrink into a band almost as hard as iron. The spokes and the circumference of the wheels were similarly bound, so one actually travelled on the hide. Carriage springs were made of twisted hide. In the *carretas* for the transportation of produce, not a single nail was used in the whole construction. Where the parts of wood could not be joined by wedging, they were fastened with hide, and the covering for these carts was also of hide. Mendoza wine barrels were strengthened by pieces of raw hide drawn tightly over with thongs of hide. In fact, hide took the place of all kinds of materials—wood, iron, wicker, cloth—and as a knife was the only thing needed in order to handle it, it made life easy through a speedy provision of all the things needed.⁴

Finally, hides were used in strengthening such intangible things as the control of the community. Offenders against society were sewn up in green hides and left in the sun to perish miserably when those hides tightened as they dried. Taxes on hide became the chief source of municipal income and the means of prosecuting the Indian wars. They paid the salaries of three companies of professional soldiers, *blandengues*, whose duty it became to hold the frontier against the oncoming Indian. And it was largely the income from the cattle industry which paved the streets of Buenos Aires and Montevideo,

³ Thomas Woodbine Hinchliff, *South American sketches* (London, 1863), p. 67.

⁴ Hernán Félix Gómez, *Historia de la provincia de Corrientes* (3 vols., Corrientes, 1928, 1929), I, 159.

built their churches and jails and all the other buildings proper to new municipalities.

While her hide was the most important part of a cow, a horse was more useful when alive. Horses were used to draw all kinds of objects. Even coffins were conveyed to the burying ground by being strapped transversely on a horse's back. Tell a peon to fetch anything a hundred yards off, and his first move would be to call for his horse. To get water from a well, a bucket was lassoed and a horse then pulled it up. Wood was brought on a hide drawn by a lasso. Horses were used even in such business as making butter. When milk had turned sufficiently sour, it was put into a bag made of hide; this bag, fastened to a long strip of hide rope, was attached at the other end to the leather girth which went round the horse's body; the horse was then mounted by a gaucho and ridden at a hard pace over the camp for a sufficient length of time to secure the making of the butter, by bumping the milk-bag against the ground.⁵ Horses were used to thresh corn, to mix clay for bricks. They were used to measure distance, though here the unit of measurement varied. Plump, lively horses made distance shorter; while thin, tired horses added to its length. One fished on horseback, casting his nets from its back; one bathed on horseback by riding into a river and then swimming round the horse. Horse-races, which, with gambling, were society's main diversion, naturally depended upon the horse. And the vertebrae of a horse's spine furnished the knuckle-bones used for gambling.

Everyone rode—dentists, postmen, beggars. Hutchinson noted even "a dentist operating on a poor fellow's grinders, the patient and his physician being both mounted."⁶ In town, one's daily journal was brought by a cavalier, who handed it in without dismounting. Even beggars would ride when soliciting their "limosna por el amor de Dios," and they had their licenses from the police in the shape of a piece of branded wood suspended round their necks, to prove their worth. His horse was no more indication of a beggar's being undeserving of aid than the trousers of an ordinary man, for a horse came to be considered not only a part of one's clothing but of his very body as well. Only when sitting on his horse was a man reported to feel fully clothed, and Hudson noted that the gauchos were accustomed to say that a man without a horse was a man without legs.⁷ A man afoot became an oddity, inexplicable to the animal world. Murray tells how birds and animals looked at him askance whenever he went walking, how they came close to him to investigate what manner of creature he might be.

⁵ Hutchinson, *Buenos Ayres*, p. 48.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁷ William Henry Hudson, *Far away and long ago* (New York, 1924), p. 23.

Wild cattle . . . if they see you walking, . . . will come round you—their heads up and ears extended—with signs of the greatest astonishment. . . . Small lots of most beautiful and stately mules have also come about me.⁸

Man, however, did dismount to sleep, and he dismounted to gamble. There are interesting descriptions of the early settlers at their game, seated, in eastern fashion, upon their heels, with bridle held under their feet, and generally with their knives stuck in the ground beside them, for use upon any foul play, which they were equally ready to practice and to suspect.

The horse was the means of the Spaniard's survival in his new environment and of his adaptation to it. Not only was that horse the principal defense against the Indian, but it was as well the principal aid in work, the link uniting the scattered population of the plains, and the indispensable complement of the gaucho person. Without its aid, cattle raising would have been impracticable on the vast, boundless plain, and the care of the herds would have been impossible. Its gallop shortened distances, brought men rapidly together either to realize common work, as at the rodeo, or for the equally social occasions of the *pulpería* reunions and the horse-races. Its use conditioned society. Zum Felde believes that the cattle business was directly responsible for such fundamental elements of La Plata society as the *estancia*, the gaucho, the *montonera*, and the *caudillo*.⁹ Bayo, concentrating his attention upon the basic human element in Argentine rural society, stated:

The gaucho . . . is what he is because of the horse. Without that helper, he would degenerate into a sedentary farmer, and instead of eating meat, he would eat beans or corn.¹⁰

This statement, however, should be amplified to include the cow as well.

Finally, besides all their manifold uses in local society, horses and cows were the source of the only commodities which the Plata region had for export. Cattle, mules, and the various stock products—notably hides—were all that could be offered in exchange for any of the manufactured articles or luxuries desired from Spain. The horse and the cow, therefore, became of unique and fundamental importance in La Plata society.

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⁸ John Hale Murray, *Travels in Uruguay, South America* (London, 1871), p. 68.

⁹ Zum Felde, *Proceso*, p. 18.

¹⁰ Ciro Bayo, "Prólogo" to edition of José Hernández, *Martín Fierro* (Madrid, 1919), p. 159.

REPARTIMIENTO-ENCOMIENDA

Since, in examining legal institutions, clarity in use of words is essential, it seems well to emphasize a fact which—perhaps partly on account of its very familiarity—seems hardly to have received sufficient attention of late: namely the fact that the word *repartimiento de indios* or simply *repartimiento* is constantly used as a synonym for *encomienda de indios*, or simply *encomienda*. A succession of historians have pointed out the fact. Las Casas, who had himself been an encomendero and had witnessed the early origins of the institution, mentions, in the heading of Chapter 96, Book I, “el repartimiento de indios, que llamaron después encomiendas” and in the body of the same chapter (adding sarcastic epithets) “aquella tan justa gobernación que llamaron repartimiento y después las honestas encomiendas.” In the “argument” of Book II he writes “se introdujo el repartimiento de los indios a los españoles, que después llamaron Encomiendas, en todas las Indias.”

Oviedo, a narrator of events rather than an interpreter of Spanish institutions, is less explicit but is worth quoting (I, 79): “todos los indios desta isla fueron repartidos y encomendados por el almirante.” He uses by anticipation the word *encomendar*, which seems to have been first used by Ovando, who gave more distinct shape to the nascent institution. Solórzano Pereyra, who speaks with the authority of a learned jurist composing an official hand-book, by royal command, is more distinct. He writes (after a brief summary of the origins of the institution) in the fourth paragraph of his treatise on the *encomiendas* (Lib. III, cap. 1), “comenzaron estas reparticiones a llamarse Encomiendas, y los que recibían los indios en esta forma Encomenderos.”

Several modern historians plainly state the fact. Helps (I, 147, first edition) writes “repartimientos, or encomiendas as they were afterwards called.” José Antonio Saco writes more fully. After citing the formal phrase in which Ovando, using the word *encomendar*, granted or rather entrusted a group of Indians as vassals to a Spaniard, Saco adds “dióse desde entonces [from about 1504] a esa repartición el nombre de *encomienda*, el de *encomendados* a los indios repartidos, y el de *encomenderos* a los españoles que los recibían, sin que por eso se hubiese abolido la palabra *repartimiento*, pues ésta y la

de *encomienda* se usaron indistintamente para expresar una misma cosa."¹ Miss Irene Wright in her *Early History of Cuba* (p. 38) remarks that "*encomienda*" is a synonym of "*repartimiento*." More recently Dr. Lesley Byrd Simpson bears incidental but distinct testimony in the same sense; for on page 227 of his volume *The Encomienda in New Spain* he translates Zumárraga's words "han vacado . . . muchos repartimientos de indios" thus: "they have declared vacant many . . . encomiendas of Indians."²

It may not be amiss to offer here some evidence in support of the clear statements of Saco and of Miss Wright, more especially since their respective works are mainly concerned with the Antilles, where the *encomienda* had a brief and peculiar history.

A preliminary appeal to the dictionary may clarify matters. The words *repartir*, *repartición*, *repartimiento* are not technical terms, but handy words in every-day use to denote division or distribution or allotment of anything: money, land, houses, food, clothing, gifts, detachments of troops, taxes; in short, any conceivable thing. A good example is the *capitulación* of 1505 (printed in D.I.I., XXXI, 309) authorizing Vicente Yañez Pinzón to settle (poblar) the island of Puerto Rico and to make "repartimiento de las caballerías, e tierras e árboles, e otras cosas de la dicha isla." Among the "other things of the island" to be distributed the inhabitants were probably included; but this is not definitely stated. Again Pizarro in his instructions to Alonso de Alvarado for founding a city in the province of the Chachapoyas (printed among the *Documents from the Harkness Collection*, Washington, 1936) authorizes Alvarado to distribute (*repartir*) all the caciques and Indians there might be, to distribute (*repartir*) building-plots, lands and allotments for cultivation, and to distribute (*repartir*) among his companions "all the gold, jewels, slaves, clothing and any other things whatsoever which shall be obtained in the said conquest." And in announcing the division of Atahualpa's ransom Pizarro himself says "conviene hacer repartición y repartimiento así del oro y plata como de las perlas y piedras."³ *Repartir tierras*, *repartir solares* are frequent expressions. Indeed so comprehensive is the word *repartimiento* that in the eighteenth

¹ *Historia de la esclavitud de los indios en el Nuevo Mundo* (Havana, 1932), II, 257. The second part, from which this quotation comes, has a half-title: *Historia de las encomiendas o repartimientos de indios*.

² This testimony is the more notable inasmuch as a footnote on page 92 of the same work seems to question the use of *repartimiento* as equivalent to *encomienda*. The translation from Zumárraga shows this use to be unquestionable.

³ Saldamundo prints this document in the notes to his edition of the *Primer Libro de Cabildos de Lima*.

century it was used officially or semi-officially to designate the distribution (in reality the forcible sale) of commodities to the Indians by the corregidores; and in 1718 the records of the Buenos Aires cabildo mention *repartimiento de cueros*—"allotment of ox-hides," the chief exportable product of the country.

The above examples show that the word *repartimiento*, like the English word *allotment*, is sometimes a verbal noun, equivalent to *repartición*, the process of distribution; more often, and with stricter accuracy, it is used to denote a concrete thing, an *allotment* in the sense of the thing allotted. The present paper is concerned with this concrete meaning in the phrase *repartimiento de indios*, or simply *repartimiento* when the context shows that Indians are the subject-matter.

And at the outset, to avoid ambiguity, it must be clearly stated that *repartimiento de indios* does not always mean *encomienda de indios*. When, during the early part of the sixteenth century, the previous unsystematic and experimental allotment (*repartición*, *repartimiento*) of Indian laborers to individual Spaniards assumed more solid form, greater permanence, and legal definition under the title *encomienda* (still often called *repartimiento*), nevertheless there still continued the allotment of gangs or groups of Indians (not *encomendados*) to necessary tasks, chiefly tillage, building, mining and transport of goods. Such allotment was also called *repartición*, *repartimiento*; it was gradually regulated, partly at least, by the method whereby relays or shifts of labor-gangs worked in turn for a limited period fixed by law; an arrangement known as *mita* in Peru. Solórzano (Lib. II, cap. VI, 1) uses both words, and summarizes the process in the words "se truequen por veces o mitas estos repartimientos." Thus the word *repartimiento de indios*, although constantly used as a synonym for *encomienda*, was also used, in different context, for something quite different: the allotment (usually compulsory) of Indian labor-gangs for necessary tasks, or the labor-gang itself.

Accordingly Solórzano Pereyra and the *Laws of the Indies*—presently to be cited as the chief authorities for *repartimiento* as a synonym of *encomienda*—nevertheless repeatedly use, in their sections on forced labor, the same word *repartimiento* to denote the recruiting of Indian labor-gangs or the labor-gangs themselves told off to perform necessary tasks. Thus the laws of the Indies, in Lib. VI, títulos 12-15, mention "repartimiento de los indios necesarios para labrar los campos; repartimiento para mitas; repartimiento de chacras, estancias y otras labores y ministerios publicos; repartimiento

de tambos, recuas y carreterías; repartimiento para huertas, edificios, agua, leña y otros." And Solórzano in his Second Book, where he deals with personal service of Indians, mentions "repartimientos de estos indios forzados; repartimiento para la coca y añil; repartimientos para edificar; repartimiento para minas." Further detail on the use of the word *not* as equivalent to *encomienda* is needless; since, in regard to New Spain, Dr. Lesley Byrd Simpson deals with the matter in his excellent monograph, No. 13 of *Ibero-Americana*, a work which—together with other abundant evidence—shows that, even in connection with forced labor, the word *repartimiento* is often used without exact precision: inevitably so, since the rules concerning forced labor were so varied and ambiguous; and, when convenience pointed otherwise, were often infringed or so strained as to fail in their object of protecting and preserving the Indians; notably in the largest of these labor-gang repartimientos, the mita of Potosí, which depopulated an extensive district.

And here two passages may be cited to show that the words *reparar*, *repartimiento*, indicating provision for public services, have no exclusive application to Indian compulsory labor. The first is from Solórzano (Lib. II, cap. VI, 5) who declares that every well-ordered commonwealth requires that its citizens "se apliquen y repartan a diferentes oficios." Yet more pointed is the second quotation, from a *Memorial Espiritual* addressed to the King by Francisco de Toledo and printed in the *Nueva Col. Doc. In. Esp. vol. VI*. On page 316 Toledo mentions "repartimiento de sacerdotes . . . para las doctrinas [allotment of Spanish priests to the churches of Indian villages]." Toledo, who possessed, besides his other gifts, mastery of language and of clear exposition, would not have committed, in addressing the King, the impropriety of applying to Spanish ecclesiastics and to their spiritual ministrations a term having any technical or exclusive reference to the forcible conscription of Indian peasants for manual labor; he simply uses the most convenient and most easily understood word.

The diversity in the use of the word, whether verb or noun, is well illustrated by the short chapter—a page and a half—on the mercury mines of Guancavélica in Fr. Lizarraga's *Descripción y población de las Indias*. "Al principio," he says, "repartiése el cerro [the hill containing the mercury mines] a hombres particulares en minas." Afterwards, the work being entrusted to contractors or lessees, "S. M. les reparte indios de los comarcanos"; which means the allotment of Indian labor-gangs. A few lines further on "los repartimientos de Guamanga" are "encomiendas."

But it is time to close these necessary preliminaries and come to the main subject of this paper, the use of the term *repartimiento de Indios* or simply *repartimiento* as a synonym for *encomienda de indios* or simply *encomienda*.

In his Third Book, which deals with encomiendas, Solórzano Pereyra, a precise jurist, more frequently uses the formal term "encomiendas": but in Ch. VIII, 4 and 34, he writes "repartir encomiendas"; in XIV, 22, he writes "En nuestras encomiendas suelen . . . los gobernadores . . . darlas en un indio en nombre de los demás del repartimiento encomendado"; and in XIV, 22, he writes that the claimant to an encomienda "ha de parecer ante el corregidor del partido donde sus repartimientos estuvieren sitios"; and again "concediendo a los encomenderos . . . jurisdicción en los pueblos de sus repartimientos."

It may be possible to detect a slight distinction between the two words as used by Solórzano; "encomienda" signifying, in legal aspect, the trust or charge committed to the encomendero, with its obligations both to the commended Indians and to the crown; "repartimiento" signifying something more concrete—the village (pueblo) or the "reducción" (sometimes more than one) whose Indian inhabitants constituted the encomienda. But there cannot be much difference between two terms used by Solórzano—"encomienda" and "repartimiento encomendado"; and in the royal cédulas quoted by Solórzano no difference can be discerned: (XXI, 7) "sucesión de los repartimientos . . . suceder en los repartimientos"; (XXVIII, 4) "los repartimientos que fueren vacando."

In the section of the Laws of the Indies concerning encomiendas (Lib. VI, tit. 8, 9, 11), the term *repartimiento* is more frequent than in Solórzano and even more distinctly synonymous with *encomienda*. Tit. VIII, ley 1: "... el adelantado . . . reparta los Indios entre los pobladores, para que cada uno se encargue de los de su repartimiento . . . haciendo lo demás que están obligados los Encomenderos en sus repartimientos . . ."; ley 2: "... encomendarse un repartimiento por dos vidas . . ."; ley 5: "... los repartimientos encomendados . . ."; ley 14: "... encomendar indios de repartimiento . . ."; ley 16: "... que los repartimientos de indios no sean encomendados . . . por donación, venta . . ."; ley 28: "si el repartimiento fuere de mucha utilidad, sea encomendado . . ."; ley 30: "Que los repartimientos grandes sean de dos mil pesos para el Encomendero . . ."; ley 40: "Que los repartimientos del Perú no se encomienden sin que estén vacos el primer año . . ."; ley 48: in the heading, "Que no se den títulos de encomiendas por mas vidas . . .," and in the body of the

law "Algunos gobernadores . . . han aumentado vidas en los repartimientos de Indios. . . ." Tit. IX, ley 5: "... término los encomenderos que tuvieren repartimientos en termino de dos Ciudades. . . ." Ley 20: "No tengan los Encomenderos en sus casas Indias de sus repartimientos. . . ."

In the *Nueva Col. de Doc. Esp.*, VI, 1-35, are printed the four documents, dated 1559, of royal instructions to the commissioners charged to report on the question of perpetuating the Peruvian encomiendas. The words *encomendar*, *encomendero*, *feudatario* are used, but the encomienda itself is called "repartimiento" throughout the documents: e.g., on page 13, "los encomenderos que al presente tienen repartimientos." In the letter from the commissioners to the King, which follows (pp. 46-105), the terms "encomienda" and "repartimiento" are used without distinction: e.g., on page 71, "perpetuar la tercia parte de repartimientos," and on page 74 "esta tercia parte de encomiendas." Francisco de Toledo (p. 369 of the same volume) mentions "encomenderos" who go to Spain "a gozar allá de sus repartimientos."

Velasco, the official geographer of the Indies, in the preface of his *Geografía de las Indias*, writes "Los indios se repartieron en encomiendas, dando a cada poblador . . . un repartimiento de indios." In the body of the work, comprising the statistics of some two hundred cities and towns, Velasco never uses the term *encomienda*, but always "repartimiento." Of Guatemala he mentions "22,000 indios tributarios, repartidos en otros tantos repartimientos como encomenderos." Cartago, he says, has "40 pueblos, 4,500 tributarios repartidos en otros tantos repartimientos como encomenderos." Of Timana he uses the same form of words. Santa Fé de Bogotá, he says, has "55 repartimientos, los 50 encomendados en particulares y los cinco en cabeza de S.M." For most of the other cities and towns he gives the number of encomenderos, and a larger number of repartimientos, leaving it to be understood that (as the above instance shows) the rrepartimiento de Calamares en término de La Paz po su vida; se the crown.

A report on Peruvian encomiendas under Francisco de Toledo is printed in Vol. III of the *Revista Histórica de Lima* (1908). Here are some extracts: "Se encomendó en Francisco Calvo de Herrera el rrepartimiento de Calamares en término de La Paz por su vida; se encomendó en Domingo Hernández el rrepartimiento que está vaco por fin y muerte de Antón Gómez Freite; se encomendó en Diego de Sosa el rrepartimiento de los Manchaguas en el término de Arequipa que está vaco por muerte de Francisco de Chaves. The word "rrepar-

timiento" occurs thus some fifty times either in the above form or in the statement of an annuity (*situación*) payable to some other person from the income of a *repartimiento*.

These *Documentos de Toledo* conclude with a list of forty-one *encomiendas*, dated 1571, the year of Toledo's *visita general* to Cuzco. The first four entries run thus:

1. Repartimiento de Cayaotambo encomendado en doña Paula de Sylba en siete pueblos: 333 indios.
2. rrepartimiento⁴ de los Chilques, de don Tristán de Sylba, en seis pueblos: 323 indios.
3. repartimiento de los Papres, de Bocca de Castro, en diez pueblos: 620 indios.
4. rrepartimiento de Laura, de Juan de Berrio, en dos pueblos: 306 indios.

The remaining thirty-seven entries follow the form of 2, 3 and 4. Thus the word *encomendado*, used in the first case, is omitted in the other forty as superfluous. But the preceding paragraphs, narrating the "reducciones" made by Toledo, mention the *encomienda* of Vaca de Castro (No. 3) and the *encomienda* of Juan de Berrio (No. 4).

In Vol. XCIV of the *Doc. In. Esp.*, pages 166, 174, 245, these phrases occur in official documents: "que ningún encomendero pueda tener en su repartimiento ningún español que no fuere con autoridad; que ningún encomendero pueda tener ni tenga en su repartimiento ningún negro ni negra; repartimientos que están encomendados." And on page 310 of the same volume is a list of six repartimientos which had fallen vacant in Peru owing to the death of their holders (who are named) with a statement of the income derived from each repartimiento.

Again, in the documents given by Medina concerning grants or inheritance of *encomiendas* in Chile or the claims of litigants, the word *repartimiento* repeatedly occurs.

The different uses of the comprehensive term *repartimiento* might appear to cause confusion. On the contrary, if each use be clearly defined, all confusion disappears.

There are three uses of the word which have some official character. They are not in chronological order:

1. The distribution (in fact forcible sale) of goods to the Indians by corregidores. This use, where *repartimiento* means *repartición*, cannot be confused with the other two.
2. The allotment of groups or gangs of Indian labourers to works such as tillage, building, mining, transport; or the labour-gang itself thus allotted.
3. The allotment of *encomiendas* (*repartimiento de encomiendas*) or the *encomienda* itself.

⁴ The *Revista* gives the spelling thus.

In the many examples given above, and in many others which might be added, there is no confusion and no doubt about this third application of the word *repartimiento*. The meaning is indicated either by the whole subject-matter of a document or by the use of the vocabulary connected with the *encomienda*: such words as *encomendero*, *feudatario*, *feudo*, *indios tributarios*, *dos vidas*, *repartimientos vacos*, *indios vacos*, *sucesión de indios*, *tenedor de indios*, *posesión de indios*, *pensión*, *situación* (two words denoting an annuity payable to another person by an *encomendero* from the income of his *encomienda*). Thus no doubt or confusion occurs in the innumerable cases where the word *repartimiento* is used as a synonym of *encomienda*.

It would not be difficult to find English words applied in widely different ways without causing confusion; but such an exercise of ingenuity would be here out of place.

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INSTITUTO INTERNACIONAL DE ESTUDIOS IBERO-AMERICANOS

A group of professors and scholars, of whom Rafael Altamira is the guiding spirit, has just organized an *Instituto Internacional de Estudios Ibero-Americanos*. All correspondence relating to this matter should be directed to the Secretario General, Señor J. Cremades, 93 rue Réaumur, Paris-II^e. American specialists are now receiving an explanatory document entitled *Plan y Programa del Funcionamiento Científico del Instituto*, the tenor of which is as follows:

The purpose of this Institute is to promote scientific research and publication on Ibero-American subjects. As now conceived, the organization will be a center of scientific investigation in which there will be no chairs and public lectures in competition with universities, although it does not disclaim the right to present its achievements in this way to the world of culture when such seems necessary. This coöperative research is deemed vitally necessary, for, although scientific activities are organized in some of the Ibero-American countries, there are vast gaps which no individual can bridge. The essential elements of information are either lacking or so chopped up as to be unusable.

The Institute does not seek to lay this deplorable state of affairs at the door of any individual. Two factors have created it: first, the dispersion throughout the nations of Europe and America of the documentation necessary for the examination of the sources of history and of the current situation; second, the lack of a means of constant communication and collaboration between the scholars in the countries under consideration. The result is that each scholar works in such isolation that every day finds him lacking some of the elements of perfect work. The problem is far from solved by the limited practice of lending books by some exceptional libraries.

The plan of the Institute is to attack these two handicaps of Ibero-American studies—not in a single combat but in a determined war based upon solid organization. Unity of investigators will permit the realization of individual and collective projects in the location of sources. An example relative to the juridical history of the colonial epoch will illustrate this possibility: the formation of a complete inventory of the *Cedularios* scattered through America, Spain, and

Portugal, and other European nations. Even the long-needed index of sources which Señor Altamira called for many years ago might now be undertaken.

The institute, therefore, desires to become not only a center of work and materials, but also aspires to be the organizer of scientific undertakings which will, perhaps, need to be executed in part in different places, and whose results will be coördinated finally in the Institute. This work will turn upon, and be measured by, publication of monographs, periodical *memorias* and *informes*. The cultural necessities of the countries concerned will produce other types of publication if occasion demands.

Since the whole project impinges upon the type of people making up the center, it has been decided that two classes alone should constitute its membership. First, of course, are the men already formed and recognized for scientific achievement in history, jurisprudence, philology, sociology, comparative literature, and analogous fields. Second, since "all the spiritual activities of humanity require the training of youth," the Institute will dedicate itself to the preparation of young scholars, not just to take the place of the old when they retire or die, but in order to enable the young to surpass their fore-runners. Consequently, the seminars and laboratories established will admit only a select group. A large group which would shut off all daily personal contact with the scholars will not be tolerated. These young men, who supposedly will arrive with background training, will not be instructed in the subject matter, but in mechanics and methodology of scientific work, and the composition of the results of study.

The general subject to be studied is the civilization of the countries embraced in the title—their entire "spiritual life." In this work the Institute intends never to abandon the strict field of scientific objectivity. And between objective history and science there can be no conflict.

Such a broad program makes it appropriate that the doors of the Institute be kept open to all specialists, particularly those working on the modern epoch; i.e., since the discovery of America. After all, that was the time when most Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking countries began the epoch which we call Western culture.

The instruments of work in the immediate center call for the creation of a library towards which the members of the Institute propose to bend every effort. And the governments of the countries to profit from the library are being looked to for a considerable subsidy. The lending of books to members will be as liberal as possible,

and a great exertion will be made to bring the books and manuscripts of the famous libraries of the world within reach of the members, thus establishing a library of photocopies, facsimiles, and handwritten documents. Likewise, it is proposed to establish an archaeological museum of artifacts chosen from the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries, not alone for the use of members of the Institute, but also for the use of the great public which, without participating in the research, desire and need to know something of them for their general culture.

FINAL REPORT ON THE CONFERENCE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY AND THE CONCENTRATION OF RESEARCH MATERIALS IN THE FIELD OF LATIN-AMERICAN STUDIES

The following report of the Conference which met at Ann Arbor, Michigan, on July 21-22, 1939—under the auspices of the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Michigan and the Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies—is not a verbatim record but a brief account of the resolutions and discussions of the group. The various recommendations approved were all directed to the Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies.

Prof. C. H. Haring, chairman of the Committee, was the presiding officer for the various sessions. Some sixty three American and foreign scholars were in attendance.

I. REGIONAL CONCENTRATION AND ORGANIZATION OF RESEARCH MATERIALS

(Discussion led by Mr. H. M. Lydenberg, Director of the New York Public Library—Friday afternoon, July 21.)

Recommended:

That a survey of Latin-American research materials in libraries in this country be made.

Discussion:

The problem is—how can honest, economic, and practicable agreements be made by universities and other institutions to prevent duplication of material and to ensure that a particular region develop its research resources on a planned basis.

The obstacles at once appeared and so overshadowed the discussion that a practical, immediate solution never was suggested. These obstacles were:

1. The rugged academic individualist who was not willing to commit his institution to any policy of limited or restricted buying.
2. The equally rugged expansionist who felt that our collections are now in need of extensive purchasing rather than ready for a system whereby they are restricted in any way.
3. The stubborn fact that even projected and tentative attempts at such regional concentration may fail because the various specialists at a single institution may not agree on the areas to be delimited.

On the other side it was pointed out:

1. That some informal understandings were already in effect.

2. That the American Library Association has considered the problem and has put forward a positive program in which institutions decide to concentrate in a given field without tying their hands in any way with respect to other fields.

3. Further, it was suggested that any long-range policies ought to be adopted only after careful consideration and after we know exactly what materials are now held in the libraries of the country. It was understood that this survey would not be a census, that the problem of manuscripts should be considered by the directors of the survey, as well as printed materials and other materials such as maps.

The group, therefore, while giving support to all informal agreements now in operation or under discussion, recommended:

That a survey of Latin-American research materials in libraries in this country be made.

During the discussion, several persons emphasized the need for collecting ephemeral material—especially ephemeral Latin-American periodicals—which is usually lost unless determined efforts are made to secure and preserve it. The group also passed a vote of gratitude and appreciation to the American Council of Learned Societies and the University of Michigan for their assistance, which made possible the holding of the Conference.

Finally, the group approved by a unanimous vote the following resolution: That the Conference go on record as urging libraries and other institutions to maintain an open-door policy with respect to the research materials in their custody; that access to such materials and their photo-duplication be permitted freely to properly qualified persons.

II. THE NEED FOR A SECULAR STREIT

Prof. Carl O. Sauer of the University of California made a powerful plea, at the dinner meeting on Friday, July 21, for the preparation of a guide to the printed secular material now available for the study of colonial Latin America on the same general plan and scope as the monumental *Bibliotheca Missionum* (Münster, 1916-1936, 10 vols.) by Robert Streit. Streit, of course, records and describes ecclesiastical material and there exists a pressing need for a similar guide to all the printed documents, scattered throughout many series of volumes, of a secular nature.

It was not possible to discuss the proposal at the dinner meeting but on July 22 there was an opportunity to do so and it was voted:

That the group approve the idea of a secular Streit and that the Committee be requested to continue the study of this proposal.

III. A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TRAVELLERS TO LATIN AMERICA

(Discussion led by Prof. A. P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania—Friday evening, July 21.)

It was voted:

To recommend to the Committee that a bibliography of books of travel in Latin America written by foreigners be prepared—suitably limited as to the period to be covered.

The discussion, based upon reports prepared by Prof. Whitaker, brought out:

1. That manuscripts ought to be excluded.

2. That a secular Streit would necessarily include travel accounts of the period up to about 1800, and therefore,

3. The nineteenth century, or a suitable portion thereof, would seem to be the appropriate period to be covered.

During the discussion, Dr. Rubens Borba de Moraes, Director of the Municipal Library of Sao Paulo, emphasized the great need for such a guide to the many travellers who visited Brazil. Often travel works constitute the most important source available.

IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRAZILIAN STUDIES

(Saturday morning, July 22.)

A. Discussion of the "Survey of Brazilian Studies in the United States," led by Dr. Robert C. Smith of the Library of Congress.

The discussion was based upon the survey prepared by Dr. Smith, and distributed to Conference members before the meeting, which listed and commented upon the number and character of courses dealing with Brazil now offered in universities in this country, Brazilian studies now in progress by scholars here, and theses under way.

The language difficulty seemed to be the most important obstacle to greater development of Brazilian studies in this country. The need for suitable grammars, the difficulty of securing books from Brazil, and the advisability of translations into English of Brazilian works were also discussed. Inasmuch as the whole discussion was of an exploratory nature, no formal action was taken and the group proceeded to the second part of the agenda for the session.

B. A *Handbook of Brazilian Studies* (discussion led by Senhor Gilberto Freyre).

It was voted that:

The group recommend that the preparation of a *Handbook of Brazilian Studies* be considered by the Committee.

It was understood from the discussion:

1. That the direction of the *Handbook* would be so organized as to enlist the efforts of the most competent workers in Brazil, in Europe, and in this country.

2. That the objective should be to provide a useful guide to the studies already made, to the available materials, and to the fields of research that need to be worked now.

V. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HISPANIC FOUNDATION OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

(Luncheon meeting, July 22.)

Discussion was centered around the proposals included in the memorandum prepared by Dr. Hanke of the Library of Congress. Prof. Sauer brought out the fact that it would probably be unnecessary for the Hispanic Foundation to offer fellowship aid to students in this country as the various research councils have made adequate provision. Dr. Leland concurred with this view and the item was therefore deleted from the Hispanic Foundation program.

Prof. Navarro Tomás and Señor Silvio A. Zavala described the need for some central institute in this country similar to the Centro de Estudios Históricos.

VI. ARCHIVAL GUIDES

(Session on Saturday afternoon, July 22.)

A. Guide to archival material in and near Washington, D. C.

This discussion was led by Dr. Roscoe R. Hill of the National Archives on the basis of a memorandum distributed before the Conference met. It was voted that such a guide should be compiled.

B. Guide to the archival material in South America relating to United States history.

Prof. Samuel F. Bemis of Yale presented this subject. The need for this guide was recognized and it was generally felt that the time was opportune to undertake the work. There was a division of opinion on the amount of material available and the length of time necessary to prepare a proper guide. The original estimate of fifteen months to two years was considered too low, but there was general approval, expressed in a formal vote, that the guide should be prepared.

* * * * *

At this time Prof. Haring presented a short review of the projects discussed during the Conference with a view to securing an expression as to the relative importance of the proposals formally recommended to the Committee on Latin-American Studies.

The preparation of a secular Streit first secured strong support. The *Handbook of Brazilian Studies* and the "Survey of Latin American Collections in United States Libraries" were thereafter mentioned as worthy of especial consideration. No formal vote was taken, and it was left to the Committee to take whatever action it deems desirable in view of the discussions at the Conference. Correspondence concerning the progress of the Committee towards the achievement of the proposals recommended by the Conference should be directed to its chairman, Prof. C. H. Haring whose address is 97 Widener Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

August 11, 1939.

THE SECOND CONVENTION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

On Wednesday and Thursday, February 23 and 24, 1939, the second convention of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association was held with headquarters at the Raleigh Hotel, Washington, D. C. Like the meetings of the first convention, the papers read and the discussions conducted concerned three subjects: bibliography, archives, and libraries.

The delegates and interested observers assembled for the first session at the Pan-American Union. It seemed very appropriate that Dr. León de Bayle, Minister from Nicaragua, representing a nation midway between French speaking Quebec and Spanish speaking Argentina should preside at the opening meeting. Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan-American Union, graciously welcomed those attending and extended the good wishes of the Union. The first address of the meeting and one of the last ever to be given by its author was presented by the late Dr. Ernest Cushing Richardson. One of the originators of the Union Catalog and for many years active and interested in the improvement of library facilities, it was particularly fitting that he should devote his paper to "Bibliography the Basis of International Intellectual Coöperation." Dr. John F. Normano presented a spirited and critical essay on "Recent Attempts at an economic Bibliography on Latin America," and Dr. Lewis Hanke displayed his inveterate sense of humor and his generous fund of ideas in his "Bibliographical Principles and Practices in the Field of Latin-American Studies." In the absence of Dr. C. K. Jones of the Library of Congress, Mr. C. E. Babcock of the Pan-American Union Library conducted the discussions.

In the afternoon session the delegates to the convention were welcomed to The National Archives by Dr. R. D. W. Conner, Archivist of the United States. The ambassador from Cuba, Dr. Pedro Martínez Fraga, being unable to attend, the late Dr. James A. Robertson presided. The Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association will sadly miss the indefatigable labor, the uncommon and ever unselfish interest in scholarship and scholars, and the warm friendliness of its former president. "Libraries and Archives of Mexico" formed the theme of the paper read by Dr. Silvio Zavala, editor of the

Revista de Historia de América. Dr. Richard F. Behrendt of the University of Panama led the audience from Mexico to Panama in his paper "Some Problems of Bibliography and Archives Relating to the Social and Economic History of Panama." The discussion was conducted by Dr. Robertson and by Dr. Almon R. Wright of the National Archives.

The guests at the dinner meeting at the Raleigh Hotel, presided over by a former president of Panama, Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, were privileged to hear two pioneer workers in the fields of bibliography and archives. Dr. Waldo G. Leland, Directing Executive of the American Council of Learned Societies, addressed the Association on the subject "Bibliography and Scholarship." From Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, President of the Bibliographical Society of America, the audience heard an address on "Bibliography, the Correct Description of Books." After the presentation of the two addresses, Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus, President of the Association, conferred upon three distinguished contributors to Inter-American understanding honorary life membership in the society: Dr. Gil Borjes, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Venezuela, Dr. Ernest Cushing Richardson, Consultant at the Library of Congress, and Dr. James Brown Scott, Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Members of the Association were happy to hear the announcement that an annual prize of one hundred dollars is to be awarded for the best bibliography in the field of Inter-American affairs. This prize was made possible by the personal gift of Dr. James Brown Scott of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and it is to be known as the José Toribio Medina Prize in honor of the famous Chilean bibliographer and historian.

Four subjects of widely different character were presented at the meeting held Friday morning and presided over by Dr. Roscoe R. Hill, Chief of the Division of Classification in The National Archives, in the absence of Dr. William J. Wilson of the Library of Congress. Latin-American scholars found particularly valuable the paper, "Newspaper Collections in the Middle Americas," by the Librarian of Tulane University, Dr. Arthur E. Gropp. Of general interest was the address by Mr. Carl H. Milam, Secretary of the American Library Association, on "Possibilities of Library Coöperation." Mr. G. A. Schwegmann revealed some of the difficulties and disappointments of librarians in his work on "Photographic Reproduction of Library Cards." Since time did not permit a reading of his entire paper, originally scheduled for the meeting of the previous afternoon, Dr. James F. Kenny of the Public Archives of Canada read excerpts

from his address on "The Public Records of the Province of Quebec, 1763-1791." The spirited and instructive discussion was led by Dr. John T. Vance, Chief of the Law Division of the Library of Congress.

At the luncheon meeting held at the Raleigh Hotel the Assistant Director of the Pan-American Union, Dr. Pedro de Alba, presided. Members of the Association were disappointed to find that the well-known bibliographer of Mexico, Dr. Rafael Heliodoro Valle, could not be present. In his place Señor Salamón de la Selva read a paper on "The New Face of Latin America in Some Old Musty Books." The Director of the American Documentation Institute, Dr. Cuthbert Lee, explained the purposes and problems of that organization in his "The American Documentation Institute and Auxiliary Publication."

At the business meeting held on the afternoon of the 24th reports on a number of interesting and worthwhile enterprises were made. Dr. Daniel Samper Ortega, former Librarian of the National Library of Colombia and now Counselor at the Colombian Embassy, read his "Report on the Book Exposition Held in Bogotá under the Auspices of the National Library of Colombia, July and August, 1938." Dr. Raul d'Eça reported on the progress and growth of "The Inter-American Book Exchange" of which he is Director. "The Bibliographical Center of the Pan-American Union" was explained by its Librarian, Mr. Charles E. Babcock. The paper concerning "The Union Catalog of Floridiana," an enterprise initiated by Dr. A. J. Hanna of Rollins College, was read in the absence of the author by Mr. Seymour Robb of the Library of Congress. From a report on a "Project to Create a Department of Culture in all of the Spanish Speaking Countries" by Aida Correño y Correa of Santiago, Chile, extracts were read by Jeneiro Brooks of the Pan American Union Library. Finally Miss Marie Kierstad Pidgeon of New York City read a report on "The Discovery of Hispanic-American Junior Books for Reading in the United States."

The subjects and authors of a number of papers of which the titles only were read at the Convention follow:

- Adolph S. R. de Figueiredo (São Paulo)
Children's Literature in Brazil
- Heloise Cabral da Rocha Werneck (Rio de Janeiro)
Universal Decimal Classification
- Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi (Santo Domingo)
Bibliography in Santo Domingo
- Carlos M. Trelles (Cuba)
Notes on Special Collections
- Marcelino de Castellví (Colombia)
Bibliography of the Tukano Linguistic Family

Manuel Cañyes (Pan American Union)

The Yajé and their Relations with American Linguistics

Gustavo A. Castañeda S. (Honduras)

Dreams and Realities

Hildamar Escalante (Venezuela)

Library Problems in Venezuela

Philip Leonard Green (Office of Education, Washington)

The Function of Bibliographies in Education and Propaganda

After the reports were read, the Convention proceeded to other business under its president, Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus, of the George Washington University. To him and to its secretary, Miss Carmel Sullivan, the Association owes the success of its second convention. Members of the organization approved the following resolutions:

The Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association at its second convention in Washington, D. C.

1. Resolves,

To recommend to the Department of State of the United States the consideration of ways and means of providing for select collections of representative works from the United States to be made available to suitable official repositories in each of the American Republics.

2. Resolves,

To commend the following for initiative in establishing recently a current national bibliography as recommended by the Seventh International Conference of American States:

a. The Argentine National Commission on Intellectual Coöperation.

b. Dr. Fermín Perana y Sarausa, Director of the Municipal Library of Havana.

c. The Association of Booksellers of Mexico, and

d. Dr. Jorge Basadre, Director of the Library of the University of San Marcos at Lima.

3. Resolves,

To commend the action of the Government of Brazil in establishing an Instituto Nacional de libro.

4. Resolves,

To commend the Post Office Department of the United States for any steps that can be taken under the Postal Convention of the Americas and Spain to extend the reciprocal franking privilege for official organizations.

5. Resolves,

To recommend that the Governing Board of the Pan-American

Union encourage through any appropriate means a survey of customs duties, and other taxes on books in the countries of the Americas, which may retard the dissemination of knowledge.

6. Resolves,

That great appreciation be expressed for the action of the President of the United States in establishing a temporary reduction in book postage rates, and that the continuation of this reduced postage rate will do much to stimulate intellectual coöperation.

7. Resolves,

To recommend that the Post Office Department of the United States of America consider any practical steps that can be taken to bring the book postage rates to the countries of the Americas into harmony with the present temporary domestic book postage rate.

8. Resolves,

To extend a formal vote of thanks to Dr. James Brown Scott for making possible the award of an annual bibliographical prize of \$100.00, to be known as the José Toribio Medina Prize.

9. Resolves,

To extend a vote of thanks to the Director General of the Pan-American Union and other officials of the Pan-American Union, to the Archivist of the United States and other officials of The National Archives, and to the Librarian of Congress and other officials of the Library of Congress for their assistance in the arrangements for this convention.

10. Resolves,

To commend the Librarian of the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan-American Union for the establishment of the *Pan-American Bookshelf* and to suggest that especial attention be called to current publications of the records of Inter-American Conferences.

11. Resolves,

To extend a vote of thanks to the various speakers who have so generously given of their time.

12. Resolves,

To extend a vote of thanks to the Raleigh Hotel and to the Greater National Capital Committee for assistance rendered in connection with the Convention.

13. Resolves,

To extend a vote of thanks to the President, Secretary-Treasurer, and to the members of the Council of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association.

14. Resolves,

To commend to the Federal Writers' Project the desirability of considering ways and means of preparing and issuing a guide book of the United States in both Spanish and Portuguese.

ALMON R. WRIGHT.

The National Archives.

PAN-AMERICAN FOUNDATION

An organization known as the Pan-American Foundation has just been incorporated in the District of Columbia. The director is Ricardo J. Alfaro; the sub-director, A. Curtis Wilgus; general counsel, Maurice H. Thatcher; and the secretary, Michael A. Picard. The business and objects of the corporation are the promotion of the principles and policies of Pan-Americanism. And to that end the corporation specifically dedicates itself to the following:

- a. To promote the founding of a Pan-American University.
- b. To assist in the exchange of faculty professorships and student scholarships and fellowships in the universities and colleges of the Western Hemisphere.
- c. To assist and coöperate in the establishment of chairs for the teaching of Latin-American and Canadian history, geography, and culture, and international relations, in the universities, colleges, and other institutions of learning and culture in the United States of America.
- d. To assist and coöperate in the establishment of chairs for the teaching of history, geography, and culture of the United States of America, and international relations, in the universities, colleges, and other institutions of learning and culture in the countries of Latin America, and in Canada.
- e. To make awards, give prizes, and grant scholarships.
- f. To aid, and engage in, research, special studies, surveys, and demonstrations touching the various problems involved in, or related to, the work of the corporation.
- g. To promote musical, artistic, literary, and other cultural, exchanges between and among the peoples of the Western Hemisphere; and to aid, and engage in, exploration and archeological research in these countries.
- h. To publish periodicals, bulletins, books, and other publications for the promotion of the business and objects herein enumerated.
- i. To encourage interest in travel in the lands and countries of the Western Hemisphere; and, especially on the part of organized groups from universities, colleges, schools, and other institutions.
- j. To give assistance and encouragement to study clubs, student organizations, and civic and other groups interested in the civilizations and cultures of the Western Hemisphere.
- k. To stimulate, encourage, and aid, in the countries of the Western Hemisphere:
 - (1) the promotion of sanitary science and disease-preventing methods and practices; and

- (2) the education, culture, and betterment of the blind, the deaf, the dumb, and all others suffering from physical or mental handicap or affliction.
- l. To give aid and encouragement to all worthy educational and cultural organizations and groups interested in Pan-American affairs.
 - m. To promote, and to assist in the promotion of, radio, television, and other scientific communications in the countries of the Western Hemisphere; and to have the authority to construct, maintain, operate, and sponsor—on a nonprofit basis—stations and agencies for such purposes.
 - n. To encourage and promote Inter-American peace and good will; and to stimulate and encourage the construction, establishment, and maintenance of Inter-American highways and transportation routes and activities of every character.
 - o. To assist in the promotion of the recognition and commemoration of Pan-American Day, and of all other national and international celebrations, observances, and functions of a Pan-American character.
 - p. To cooperate with all other agencies—whether governmental or otherwise—which have activities and fields in common with the corporation.

CHILE-UNITED STATES CULTURAL INSTITUTE

Students of Latin-American history will note with interest the establishment of a new institution for promoting cultural relations between Latin America and the United States. This is the Chile-United States Cultural Institute, which was formally inaugurated on November 24, 1938. The Institute will endeavor to promote the interchange of professors, students, artists, scientists and visitors; the establishments of more scholarships; the organization of expositions of books, paintings, and other exhibits of art and culture; and the translation of contemporary literature of each country into the language of the other; and it will seek in these and other ways to promote reciprocal understanding between Chile and the United States.

The *Andean Monthly* is the organ of this Institute. It will publish information regarding the culture, history, life and folklore of Chile and the other West Coast countries of South America. It will also publish reports of activities of the Institute.

One of the most active members of the Institute and of the Editorial Board of the *Andean Monthly* is Dr. Eugenio Pereira Salas, who studied in this country as Guggenheim Fellow from Chile in 1933, and whose name is well known to students in Latin American history because of his valuable studies of the history of early cultural, political and economic relations between Chile and the United States.

The address of the *Andean Monthly* is Casilla 13076 (Correo 11), Santiago, Chile.

A. P. W.

BEVERIDGE FUND PUBLICATIONS

The American Historical Association is setting aside a portion of the income of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund for the publication of a series of monographs in any field or period of American history including Latin-American. Historical scholars who have the degree of doctor of philosophy or who are of equivalent professional standing as demonstrated by previous publication are eligible to submit manuscripts of between 50,000 and 80,000 words to the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Committee. The committee will consider manuscripts once each year and all monographs should be in their hands by the end of the first week in January. Those manuscripts accepted will be published by the committee in a style similar to that now used in the documentary series of the Beveridge Fund Publications. It is expected that sufficient funds will be available to enable the committee to publish two or three monographs annually. In examining these manuscripts the committee will give favorable consideration only to those which display expert technique, philosophical grasp of the subject explored and excellent style. Manuscripts may be submitted to the committee through the Assistant-Secretary of the American Historical Association, Miss Patty W. Washington, 740 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C., preferably about the first of January of each year beginning in 1940. It should be noted that the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize is awarded by another committee under a separate set of rules.

R. F. N.

HISPANIC-AMERICAN AFFAIRS AT ROLLINS COLLEGE

Rollins College at Winter Park, Florida, has established a series of three courses, one each term, in Hispanic-American History, taught by Dr. Alfred Hasbrouck. The course given in the fall covers "Colonial Hispanic America"; that given in the winter term "Our Hispanic-American Neighbors and United States," and that given in the spring term explains the economic geography of "The Republics of Hispanic America," as well as their history since independence.

To the course given during the winter term, when adult education courses at Rollins College are offered to winter visitors, adults will be admitted as auditors at a weekly lecture and will be encouraged also to do voluntarily much of the reading prescribed for the regular undergraduate members of the class. This group of adults as well as undergraduate students will, it is hoped, form a nucleus about which

can be developed a forum for study of Hispanic-American history, geography and culture.

Believing that an active interest in our Hispanic-American neighbors has at last been aroused in this country, Dr. Hasbrouck has seized this opportunity to establish at his home in Winter Park the "Good Neighbor Forum" to which all those interested are welcome to come and read his books, examine the pictures, pamphlets, maps, and other items gathered by him in his visits to South and Central America or to listen to informal discussions of topics concerning Hispanic America. Opportunity will also be provided for committee and other meetings of the Florida section of the *Instituto de las Españas*.

RESTORATION OF PUERTO RICAN LANDMARKS

The ancient fortresses and other shrines of Puerto Rico have recently been repaired and redecorated with great fidelity to the original structures under the auspices of the United States Army and Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration. The Works Progress Administration has assigned over \$2,000,000 for the work. The great sea wall, in some places seventy-five feet high and thirty feet thick, has been restored and its picturesque sentry boxes once more put in order. The principal fortresses which figured in the restoration were El Morro and San Cristóbal, where the workers discovered extensive subterranean galleries for communication and mining. In fact, because it is believed that El Morro, San Cristóbal, La Fortaleza, the governor's palace in San Juan, and perhaps San Gerónimo were connected by tunnels, these passages are being explored and electrically lighted. The Casa Blanca, built for Ponce de León, had fallen into a bad state of repair before it was restored. With its replacements of hand-hammered iron lamps and artistic gardens the palace has become exceptionally impressive. The Santo Domingo Monastery has likewise been restored to its original appearance. The renovation has extended to the repair of the Ballaja and Manicomio barracks. Although the building materials of the Spaniards have lasted for four hundred years, the army engineers do not expect a life of more than two hundred years for their work on these fine examples of Spanish military architecture.

RESTORATION OF HISTORIC SHRINES IN NEW ORLEANS

The historic old Pontalba buildings in New Orleans, which are called "America's first apartment houses," have been reclaimed and

restored by the city of New Orleans and the Works Progress Administration. These celebrated buildings on Jackson Square were built by the Baroness Micaela de Pontalba with her father, Don Andrés Almonaster y Rojas, between 1848 and 1850. Under the direction of the Baroness they became the center of European culture in New Orleans. They fell, however, into moral as well as physical dilapidation after the death of their sponsor.

The property was acquired in 1930 from a group of business men by the city of New Orleans. The city planned to restore the structures as a monument of New Orleans's interesting past. With the aid of the WPA, work began in November, 1935, and was completed in 1937 at a cost of approximately \$900,000. The preservation of the exquisite iron-work and other indications of an architectural epoch of great distinction would make the work worth while even if the old apartments had not been restored with the conveniences of the most fastidious modern.

PERCY J. KING

Hispanists in the United States will receive the news of the death of Percy J. King (June 23, 1939) with great regret. President of the United States Catholic Historical Society, he was well known for his publications. As a lawyer he gave much of his time and energy to legal service for the needy and was untiring in his promotion of good will among the creeds and races.

FIRST PRINTED MAP OF AN AMERICAN CITY

In July the William L. Clements Library published in facsimile the first printed map of any American city (Mexico). It is taken from the original edition of Hernando Cortés, *Praeclara . . . de Nova maris Oceani Hyspania Narratio*, Nuremberg, 1524.

THE PAN-AMERICAN BOOK SHELF

The Pan-American Union is continuing its publication of *The Pan-American Book Shelf*. The issue for June, 1938 (Vol. I, No. 4), has some excellent notes on various cultural matters. These are followed by a list of "Books received in the Columbus Memorial Library, April 19 to May 23, 1938." The issue for February, 1939 (Vol. II, No. 2), contains a bibliographical list and notes. This is an extremely useful publication and does honor to its promoters.

PORTUGUESE BULLETIN

The Secretario de Propaganda Nacional has issued Nos. 8-11 of a periodical—*Portugal*—a bulletin of political, economic, and cultural information, which was printed in English in Lisbon. They cover the months of May to September, 1938, are entirely in English, and are dignified and sober in tone. Together they give a rather intimate picture of Portugal and its colonies.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

TIERRA FIRME. A QUARTERLY REVIEW PUBLISHED IN MADRID BY THE SECCIÓN HISPANOAMERICANA DEL CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS HISTÓRICOS

The aims of the review were set forth in the foreword of the first number which appeared in 1935 and are partially expressed in the following sentence: "Limitada a temas de orden espiritual, doctrinalmente expuestos, y a hechos, ideas, figuras de nuestro tiempo, anhela mantenerse en la serena zona expositiva, y, tocante a polémicas y discusiones, ofrecer a todas las tendencias un campo abierto, en donde se contrasten depuradas de sus movimientos apasionados." These high aims were fulfilled in the first issues. The articles covered many fields of interest; however, with each succeeding issue there was a tendency to narrow the field to Spanish-American history. Because this is a record of the travail of a distinguished journal, as well as a bibliography of Latin-American materials, some articles not strictly germane to the subject of this REVIEW are included. Book reviews, however, have been omitted.

In 1935, Vol. I, numbers 1, 2, was published; in 1936, Vol. II, numbers 1, 2. Number 3-4 was published in Valencia in October, 1937, and this issue completed Vol. II. All of the numbers are reviewed in the following pages.

ESTHER MATHEWS.

Library of Congress.

AÑO I, Núm. 1, 1935

ARTICLES

Américo Castro contributes a scholarly study of "Poesía y realidad en el Poema del Cid" (pp. 7-30) attacking the point of view of the literary analyst who delves exclusively into the historical aspect of a work of art and illustrating that a literary work is valuable for the effect it produces on the spirit which is the essence of poetry.

Gonzalo R. Lafora, the well-known specialist in mental diseases, presents the first of two studies on the great Spanish histologist entitled "La influencia de la personalidad y el carácter de Cajal sobre su obra" (pp. 31-54), interpreting the genius and achievements of Santiago Ramón y Cajal on the basis of individual psychical and inherited characteristics.

J. Huizinga, the very interesting philosopher of history, in his "Carta a M. Julien Benda" (from *Correspondance* published by the Instituto Internacional de Cooperación intelectual and Librería Stok) discusses (pp. 55-69) the basic factors of a national Europe, attacking the arguments presented by Benda in the pessimistic *La Trahison des Clercs*.

Karl Mannheim, "La Sociología Alemana de 1918 a 1933" (from *Política*, No. 1, 1934, published by the London School of Economics and Political Science), traces the development of a new culture in Germany after the World War (pp. 71-102), stressing the points of highest development with reference to the conditions which produced them and lastly making a comparison of different sociological characteristics of America, England, and Germany.

Ernst Wagemann, "La Economía de empresa entre nieblas" (from *Euro-päische Revue*, 1934): The great economic systems of England, the United States, and Germany have developed to combat the plight of private enterprise which Wagemann says has resulted chiefly from the post-war crisis and which has been prolonged by the false regulation of prices, inorganic increases in the type of interest and by increasing national budgets together with international debts. But these systems will be universally successful only if they equally combat the grave needs of the system that have been appearing in the economics of all the world (pp. 103-113).

RESEARCH

Angel Rosenblat, "El desarrollo de la población indígena de América" (pp. 115-133). In the first three issues of *Tierra Firme*, Angel Rosenblat presents a very scholarly and graphic study of the indigenous population of the Americas, embracing in the study Greenland, Alaska, Canada, the United States, Mexico, the Antilles, Central America, and South America. Approaching the problem from a study of the population in 1930, he then traces it back to 1492. His conclusions are expressed through an interpretation of the following figures. In 1492 the total indigenous population of the Americas was 13,385,000; 1570, 10,827,150; 1650, 10,035,000; 1825, 8,634,301; 1930, 15,619,358. As we can observe, there are actually a greater number of Indians living today, yet in parts of the continent not a trace of the Indian is to be found and racial integrity has been disappearing. There is an increased ethnical and cultural development and a strong Indianization movement at the present time.

DOCUMENTS

Lives of the philosophers. "Estudios documentales sobre Spinoza y Nietzsche" (pp. 135-144). The extract is from the critical study of A. Rivaud of the work of Vaz Díaz y M. G. Van der Tak, *Spinoza, Mercator et Autodidactus*, which brings to light some new documents dealing with the rupture between Spinoza and the Jewish community of Amsterdam in 1656; and also the commercial activities of Spinoza up to the time of his exile. Also an extract from P. L. Landsberg, "Essai d'interpretation de la maladie mentale de Nietzsche," No. 9-10, 1934, *Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Etranger*, making public a diagnosis of the progressive paralysis of the brain which did not destroy the internal dynamic forces but on the contrary brought them into action.

NOTES (pp. 145-169)

Gustavo Pittaluga, *Revista de Ambos Mundos*. Nicolás Pérez Serrano, "¿Neoconstitucionalismo o Seudoconstitucionalismo?" Ramonde Carande, "Los tesoros de Indias en los precios de España."

AÑO I, Núm. 2, 1935

ARTICLES

Gustavo Pittaluga, "Cajal y el estudio de la sangre" (pp. 5-24): Pittaluga's article is a presentation of Cajal's first and less well-known contributions in the field of normal haematology and pathology.

Julio Alvarez del Vayo, "El conflicto del Chaco y su fin" (pp. 25-43): Discusses the war between Bolivia and Paraguay.

Juan Izquierdo Croselles, "La población civil y la guerra" (pp. 45-65): Croselles presents the three dimensional aspects of war concomitant with the development of the aeroplane as an instrument of aggression which changes the traditional picture of war, making the situation and apprehension of the civilian population increasingly difficult and significant. Written before the outbreak of the war in Spain, it is of interest to note the significance of this subject in the past three years.

Pierre Bizilli, "El Renacimiento en la historia de la civilización" (from the *Revue de Littérature Comparée*): Bizilli's essay (pp. 67-103) aims "to isolate the formula of the Renaissance such as it appears when the multiple and contradictory movements that constitute its essence arrive at the point of development." He makes an excellent approach to the study by contrasting the essential characteristics of the three worlds, the three civilizations: the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Modern Age.

Gustav Cassel, "Un problema de equilibrio" (from *Skandinaviska Kreditaktiebolaget*, No. 1, 1935): The monetary systems of the world are divided into two groups (pp. 105-115)—the gold group and the pound sterling group. Controversies constantly arise because of the fundamental differences of policy between the two groups, thus making an equilibrium in the international system of values impossible. Cassel presents a study of price levels and methods to correct this state of unequilibrium, and although the article was written in 1935 and the monetary systems have been altered in many ways, the principles he sets forth are economically sound.

RESEARCH

Angel Rosenblat, "El desarrollo de la población indígena de América" (continuation, pp. 117-148).

DOCUMENTS (pp. 149-175)

"Un testimonio de la cerámica peruana," by Manuel Ballesteros-Gaibrois: a study of the human head in the ceramic art of Nazca. "Papeles del Archivo de Palacio" are a collection of a few curious and amusing papers which José Moreno Villa, Archivist of the Biblioteca de Palacio, happened upon in working in the archives. For example, the negotiations concomitant to the purchase and delivery of a sturgeon for His Majesty Philip II, and a group of very amusing court papers from an incident which occurred in the eighteenth century in the little village of Mora (Toledo).

NOTES (pp. 177-213)

Américo Castro, "Cuestiones lingüísticas de América."

Rodolfo Barón Castro, "Filipinas hacia la República independiente."

AMÉRICA EN LAS REVISTAS (pp. 215-219)

AÑO I, Núm. 3, 1935

ARTICLES

Luis de Zulueta, "La Política exterior de la República" (pp. 5-27): Study of the Republican Constitution of Spain with relation to the fundamental interests of the country.

Ventura García Calderón, "¿Como era aquel español?" (pp. 29-45): A very interesting interpretation of the Spanish *conquistador*, Francisco Pizarro.

Jorge Basadre, "El Perú actual" (pp. 47-64): Basadre writes on Peru discussing briefly: the population and geography, the social, economic, political, and cultural forces, outlining the contributions of Peruvian poets, historians, statesmen, and politicians.

W. Röpke, "La Economía fascista" (from *Economica*, No. 5, 1935. Published by London School of Economics and Political Science): Röpke presents (pp. 65-92) an interesting article in which he characterizes and defines Italian fascism, German national socialism, and fascist economy in general and the significance of these movements.

Rodolfo Barón Castro, "Unión y desunión de Centroamérica" (pp. 93-108): Castro traces briefly the historical development of unity among the countries of Central America; the disintegration of the federal pact in 1838; the present status of the relations among the Central Americas as seen in their constitutions, laws, treaties; and the present obstacles to unionism and the fulfillment of the historical destiny of the Central American countries.

RESEARCH

Angel Rosenblat, "El desarrollo de la población indígena de América" (conclusion, pp. 109-141).

DOCUMENTS (pp. 143-160)

José María Ots, "Sevilla y la moderna historiografía hispanoamericana." The author sets forth the centers in Seville where the fundamental source materials, manuscripts, etc., are to be found today for the study of colonial Hispanic America.

NOTES (pp. 161-179)

Américo Castro, "Las Complicaciones del Arte barroco."

AMÉRICA EN LAS REVISTAS (pp. 181-185)

AÑO I, Núm. 4, 1935

ARTICLES

Ramón Iglesia, "Bernal Díaz del Castillo y el popularismo en la historiografía española" (pp. 5-18): Presents the cultural and popular way of writing history in Spain and in this light interprets Bernal Díaz.

José Eduardo Guerra, "Tierras del Potosí y Oruro" (pp. 19-39): Writes "a spiritual itinerary of Bolivia," of the rich mining lands of Potosí and Oruro, picturing the country, the life, language, and characteristics of the inhabitants and Bolivia's place in the universe.

Rodolfo Barón Castro, "Españolismo y antiespañolismo en la América Hispana" (pp. 41-54): Analyzes feeling of Spanish America toward Spain.

Jorge Mañach, "La Antología del modernismo" (pp. 55-63): An essay on Federico de Onís's "Antología de la Poesía Española e Hispanoamericana, 1882-1932." (Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1934.)

Manuel Ballesteros-Gaibrois, "Piel de Bisonte Pintada. Tres ejemplares del museo arqueológico nacional" (pp. 65-79): To the Indians of the Appalachians, the Great Lakes, the Canadian Woods, and the Mississippi region, the bison was of fundamental importance for the necessities of life. These Indians have been the subject of many studies, and in this article the author deducts ethnological conclusions from a study of three bison skins now in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional.

Silvio A. Zavala, "Las Conquistas de Canarias y América" (pp. 81-112): Dr. Zavala's very excellent and scholarly work is a comparative study of the Spanish conquest of the Canary Islands and America. However, his object is not to show external characteristic parallels between the two conquests, but to examine the fundamental principles of the conquests. He has divided the study into five parts. The following three appear in this issue: I. El problema jurídico que plantea la dominación de los infieles; II. La técnica jurídica empleada por los conquistadores; alianzas y guerras; III. El derecho de cautiverio.

Joseph Nahama, "Los sefardíes de Salónica" (pp. 113-132): During the reign of the Catholic Kings a decree exiled Spanish Jews from the Peninsula. The Sultan of Turkey opened the ports of his empire to them. In this issue Joseph Nahama presents the first part of his study of the Spanish Jews who went to Salónica. The study embraces the emigration, settlement, system of government, and establishment of synagogues.

NOTES (pp. 133-161)

Manuel Ballesteros-Gaibrois, "XXVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas." Sevilla, 12-20 de octubre de 1935; Guillermo de Torre, "Cartelera de libros hispanoamericanos."

AMÉRICA EN LAS REVISTAS (pp. 163-169)

AÑO II, Núm. 1, 1936

ARTICLES

Iso Brante Schweide, "La diplomacia de la Santa Alianza y la Independencia hispanoamericana" (pp. 5-21): This article is a preliminary presentation of a work contemplated by the author. It is based on the documents of the Court Archives and State Archives of Vienna, the Secret Archives of Prussia, and the archives of the Hanseatic cities—Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. This study treats the diplomacy of the powers of the Holy Alliance in the period of the independence of Hispanic America.

Miguel Pérez Ferrero, "Dos poetas españoles en América y uno americano en España" (pp. 23-45): The occasion of the journey of the Spanish poets, Federico García Lorca and Rafael Alberti, to the Western Hemisphere and of the Chilean poet, Pablo Neruda, to Spain led Pérez Ferrero to comment on the significance of their visits abroad with respect to the ties between the independent countries and their motherland, and on the works of these contemporary poets.

Emiliano Jos, "El XXVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas de Sevilla y la historia del descubrimiento" (pp. 47-71): The basic theme of the 26th International Congress of Americanists which met in Seville, October 12-20, 1935, was "The Problem of the Discovery of America from the point of view of the

appraising of the sources." Dr. Rómulo D. Carbia, professor of the University of La Plata and at the present time professor of history at the National University of Buenos Aires and director of the University library, presented the main paper of the conference, in which he criticizes the sources for the discovery and particularly the work of Las Casas. Emiliano Jos severely criticizes the study presented by Dr. Carbia.

José María Ots, "La expansión del derecho español en las Indias" (pp. 73-87): Presented at the 26th International Congress of Americanists. The study is divided into the following parts: El individuo y el estado en las primeras expediciones colonizadoras; La presencia del estado español en las Indias; La incorporación política de las Indias a la corona de Castilla; El hecho y el derecho; La Leyenda negra; El derecho público indiano; El derecho privado.

Silvio A. Zavala, "Las conquistas de Canarias y América. Estudio Comparativo" (conclusion, pp. 89-115). The following parts are developed in this issue: IV. La organización de las Armadas; V. Repartimientos y Premios. La situación legal de los pueblos dominados.

Joseph Nehama, "Los sefardíes de Salónica" (pp. 117-130): Nehama concludes his study of the Spanish Jews in Salonica, discussing La legislación y los primeros legisladores; Fundación del Talmud Tora, Organización fiscal; Los impuestos en el sistema de la comunidad; Prosperidad económica, Los sabios y las universidades; La imprenta.

Angel Rosenblat, "Los Otomacos y Taparitas de los llanos de Venezuela. Estudio etnográfico y lingüístico" (pp. 131-153): Presented at the 26th International Congress of Americanists. Rosenblat makes a comparative study of the language of the Otomacos and the Taparitas and their position in the linguistic picture of the continent. He approaches the study by presenting in this issue the geographical location and the historical background of the Indians of the Llanos del Apure, their physical and mental characteristics, and their ways of life. (Continued.)

NOTES (pp. 155-173).

AMÉRICA EN LAS REVISTAS (pp. 175-180)

AÑO II, Núm. 2, 1936

ARTICLES

Aníbal Sánchez Reulet, "Panorama de las ideas filosóficas en Hispanoamérica" (pp. 181-209): Although Hispanic America had no original philosophical ideas, through various channels, especially the religious orders, European philosophy was diffused throughout the New World. This Argentine author traces the diffusion of culture, philosophical ideas, politics, and political ideology into the twentieth century.

Tomás Blanco, "La Isla de Puerto Rico y el Continente Americano" (211-225): Puerto Rico's history has been determined by its geographical position, and today the Island is again "a frontier of dispute, a field of tension." The Puerto Ricans have resisted assimilation and conserved their own true character in spite of a third of a century of colonization and pressure from the north, yet now under the domination of the United States and as an integral portion of the Hispanic world, Tomás Blanco believes its tragedy is nevertheless real and that the Island's fundamental problems are the problems of the continent.

Manuel García-Pelayo, "Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda y los problemas jurídicos de la conquista de América" (pp. 227-258): No monograph has been written on any aspect of Sepúlveda's thought, although Aubrey Bell and Looz-Corswarem have supported and attacked respectively Sepúlveda's position on slavery and Menéndez y Pelayo has translated *Democrates Alter*. García-Pelayo aims to fill the gap and has organized his work as follows: I. Sepúlveda y los tratadistas Españoles; II. La teoría del derecho natural en Sepúlveda; III. La teoría de la guerra; IV. La conquista de América; V. Problemas jurídicos de la colonización.

RESEARCH

Angel Rosenblat, "Los otomacos y taparitas de los Llanos de Venezuela. Estudio Etnográfico y lingüístico" (pp. 259-304): Continuation of the study as follows: 7. La geofagia; 8. La familia; 9. Régimen político y social; 10. Religión; 11. Ritos sangrientos y circuncisión; 12. Medicina; 13. Juego de pelota; 14. Tabaco y bebidas fermentadas; 15. Adornos y pintura del cuerpo; 16. Cultura material.

DOCUMENTS

B. Bernal Ulecia, "Hernando Colón y los intereses de los herederos del almirante. Un documento revelador" (pp. 305-318): Bernal Ulecia presents the text of the following documents from the Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla which gives new information and light on the personal and economic conditions of the Columbus family: I. Escritura de concordia celebrada entre los hermanos don Diego y don Hernando Colón.—La Coruña, 12 de mayo de 1520. II. Real cédula de confirmación del documento anterior. Madrid, 3 de marzo de 1525.

NOTES (pp. 319-340)

AMÉRICA EN LAS REVISTAS (pp. 341-352)

AÑO II, Núms. 3-4, 1936

ARTICLES

José María Ots, "El régimen municipal hispanoamericano del periodo colonial" (pp. 353-381): A study of the extension to the Indies of the mediaeval Spanish municipality and its development: the establishment of cities (important chapters from the Ordinances of 1563 [1573?]), officials of the municipal council, the *cabildos*, the political and administrative organization of the Indian *pueblos*. The work is based on the *Recopilación de 1680* and the doctrine of Solórzano Pereira.

Juan Dantín Cereceda, "Primeros contactos entre los tipos de alimentación antillano y mediterráneo" (pp. 383-412): The importance of bread, wheat, wine, and olive oil in the old Mediterranean culture is illustrated by a study of sources, and of interest is the fact that "Las relaciones de los bastimentos que se cargaron en las armadas de Colón y de Magallanes son el registro de los primeros aportes del mundo mediterráneo a los nuevos países de Ultramar. . . ." According to Cereceda, the foods of the Mediterranean and the Antilles were exchanged by the end of Columbus' second voyage.

Antonio R. Rodríguez Moñino, "Cómo se publicaba un libro en Indias a principios del siglo XVII. Andanzas inquisitoriales de 'La Ovandina', crónica de linajes coloniales" (pp. 413-437): A study of the steps in the publication of a book in the first decades of the seventeenth century. The work of Pedro Mexía de Ovando (Lima: Jerónimo Contreras, 1621) is used as an illustration.

Angel Rosenblat, "Los Otomacos y Taparitas de los llanos de Venezuela" (pp. 439-514): Conclusion of the ethnographical and linguistic study. From documents in Madrid the author has reproduced an Otomaco-Taparita vocabulary with additional information.

Juan Larrea, "Un Vaso Peruano del Museo de Madrid" (pp. 515-534): A new interpretation of a Peruvian vase in the Museo Arqueológico in Madrid.

MISCELLANEOUS (pp. 535-559)

Emilio G. Nadal, "Un Valenciano compañero de Grijalba y Cortés. Pere Guerau o Grau" (pp. 535-538): A brief biography of Pedro Garao Valenciano based on the "Probanza de méritos y servicios de Pedro Garao Valenciano" (Mexico, 1548) in the Archives of the Indies, Patronato: Legajo 58, Ramo 2, and the *Diccionario de Icaza*.

A. R. Rodríguez Moñino, "¿Una Crónica dominicana del siglo xvi?" (pp. 535-539): From reading *Jardín de flores curiosas* by Antonio de Torquemada (Salamanca, 1570, fols. 270v-271r.) Rodríguez Moñino suspects the existence of some manuscript or printed document that he believes interesting to identify.

A. Boscá Seytre, "La Momia Americana del Museo Paleontológico de Valencia."

Juan Larrea, "Lihuis Pajareros" (pp. 540-543): Study of instruments used by the Incas to hunt birds.

Juan Larrea, "Algunos datos sobre etnografía de Tumbéz" (pp. 543-544).

"Documentos Relativos al obispo de Trujillo (Perú) Don Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón" (pp. 544-559): Included in the documents is an index of the ceramic pieces which the Bishop sent to Spain.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES (pp. 561-578).

A SURVEY OF INVESTIGATIONS, IN PROGRESS AND CONTEMPLATED, IN THE FIELD OF HISPANIC- AMERICAN HISTORY

This survey is the fourth of its kind to be made. The first was conducted during the academic year 1926-1927, the second during the academic year 1930-1931, and the third during the academic year 1934-1935. The material listed here represents the activities of the year 1938-1939. As in the case of the previous surveys (published in this REVIEW for August 1927, August 1931, and August 1935) it is hoped that the present one may be useful in reducing duplication of effort and in increasing coöperation among teachers and students in the field of Hispanic-American affairs.

The survey has been undertaken under the auspices of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association with the assistance of the Division of Intellectual Coöperation of the Pan-American Union. In the fall of 1938 Mrs. Concha Romero James of the latter division of the Pan-American Union sent questionnaires to colleges, universities, and some normal schools in the United States. The response from these institutions has been generally satisfactory. The total number of items listed here is 402, while the total listed in the 1931 survey included 282 items, the total in 1928, 238, and the total in 1935, 272.

In this survey all items are grouped under five headings. The same sub-headings have been used as in the previous surveys. Titles of works have been recorded wherever possible in the words of the persons sending them. No title has been listed more than once. There are no cross references. Titles of thesis subjects and works contemplated have been so indicated if the fact is known.

The compiler wishes to express his appreciation for assistance given him by Mrs. Concha Romero James, the late Dr. James A. Robertson, and Miss Carmel Sullivan, Secretary of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

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